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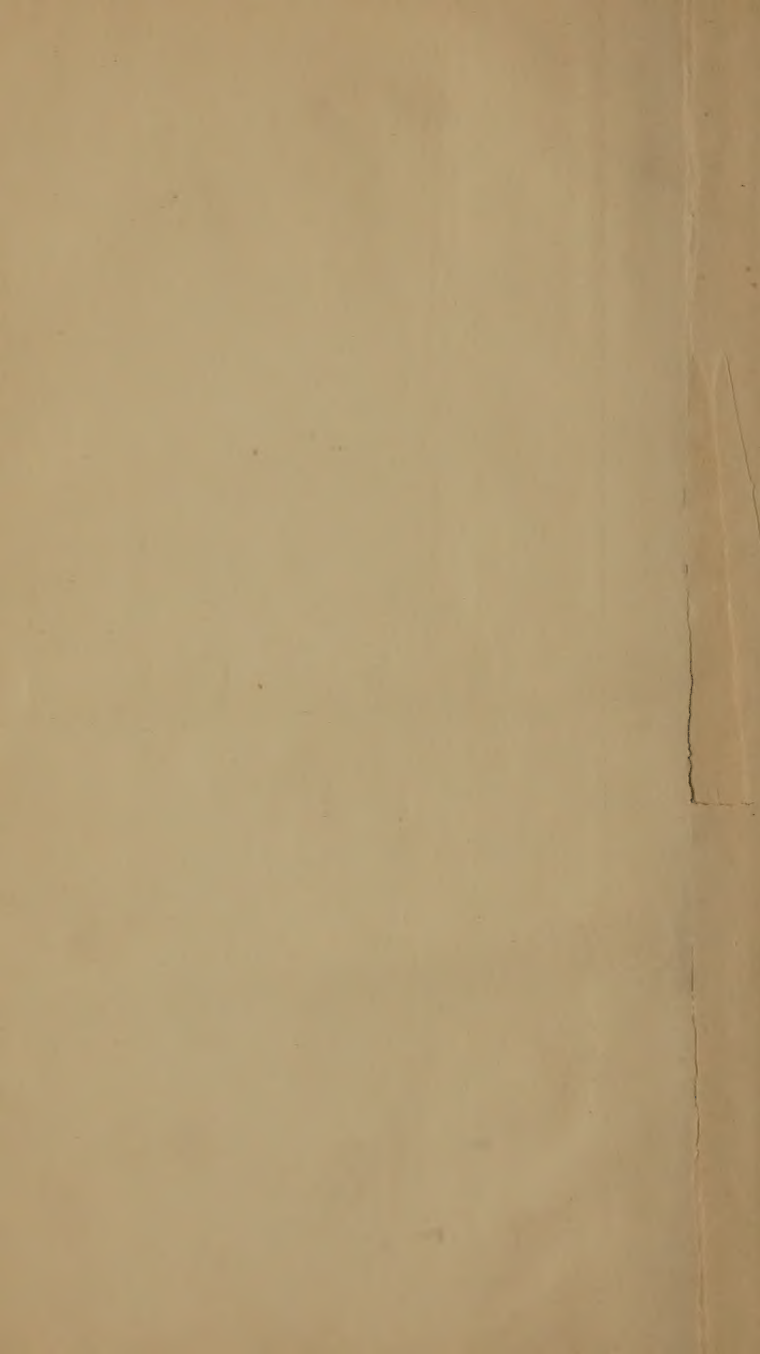












1309-2

# APOLLYON

AND THE

## REACTION OF THE SLAVONIANS,

WITH

A REVIEW OF THE POLITICAL STATE OF EUROPE UNDER  
THE ACTION OF THE CONTENDING PRINCIPLES.

BY

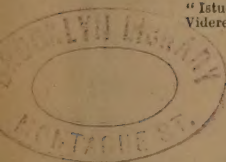
COLONEL F. T. BULLER, H.P.,

AUTHOR OF "THOUGHTS ON THE SPIRIT OF THE MOVEMENT."

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"Togarmah of the north quarters and all his band." *Exodus, xxxviii. 6.*

"Istuc est sapere et non quod ante pedes modo est  
Videre, sed etiam illa, quæ futura sunt, prospicere."—TERENCE.



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## PREFACE.

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“The subjugation of Poland has changed the character, and, if suffered to proceed, will soon change the name of Russia. From Muscovy she rose to all the Russias, and from all the Russias she will extend to Slavonia!!”—*Portfolio*, 1836.

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THE work now presented to the public was composed four years ago, during the interesting epoch of the Serbian transaction, in the countries of whose history and policy it professes to treat. Circumstances suspended its publication; and especially the announcement of a work on the same subject, by an eloquent writer, (whose text we have placed at the head of our Preface,) deeply versed in European diplomacy and international law, which unfortunately, however, never appeared—conceived and not brought forth. The late startling and portentously interesting event, styled “The incorporation of Cracow with Austria,”—or, in other words, the absorption of Austria by Russia, and appropriation of her power, “*Timeo Danaos dona ferentis*,”—so fully bear out the political predictions of the author, as regards the march and confirmation of Russian diplomacy and supremacy, that he

is induced to offer it to the public in the form in which the work was written, without alteration or comment, with the exception of the filling up of some of the historical details, and the addition of a few notes.

The disinterestedness of Russia, evident in this as in all other transactions of diplomacy, manifests itself most peculiarly in her generous self-denial, in accepting nothing in exchange for the gift to Austria ; and in that light she hopes the affair will be viewed. She has succeeded so well hitherto in persuading Europe to adopt her own interpretation of her harmless self-denying policy as to bespeak their feelings in her favour, and even, perhaps, to applaud her magnanimity. The passing allusions to Cracow originated out of the first occupation by Austria, when she hypothetically, and in justification of that extreme measure, threw herself into Cracow as a shield between Europe and Russia, on the pretence of excluding the known and suspected designs of the northern Colossus. England and France accepted the excuse, and allowed things to pass without opposition. Its corollary has been the recent catastrophe,—to be followed up, in due time, by a calculated succession of others equally astounding. Prince Metternich, they say, is fast

declining. It would appear so. He has, however, lived to sign the deed of assignment of this country to Russia.

The celebrated epigram,—“ *Bella gerant alii, tu felix Austria nubes,*”—France and Russia have adopted in common. That indefatigable, wily, and slippery old gentleman of the Barricades stirred up Europe in the autumn from its state of repose with a “ *Pas de seul en avant*”—air, “a Spanish Fandango.” In rejoinder, the three respectable gentlemen of the north got up a “ *Pas de trois,*”—tune, “ *La Polonaise,*”—master of the ceremonies, Nicholas the Muscovite.

The policy of the Northern courts is positive, combined and aggressive; that of southern Europe is negative, protesting and disunited. Prussia looked on unwillingly, if not with sentiments of shame, at the capture of Antwerp; and however we cannot dissimulate our disgust at the egotistical sacrifice of men at that fatal siege, to no purpose, without one effort to relieve them by his own power,—viz., that of the late King of Holland, the hesitation of the Duke of Saxe Weimar in advancing after his successes over those vaunting and miserable Belgians,—still Prussia was condemned to look on. She could scarcely, with any feeling of



confidence or of self-respect, protest against this last violation of treaty, doomed as she was to be the silent and inglorious spectator of that most flagrant act of French aggression and English subserviency in Belgium. Of two evils, choose the least; and she was from her military frontier, awaiting the hour of revenge, thrown back on Russia. The whole tenor of her policy—we have endeavoured to show in the course of this work—is subordinate to Russia, from which there was no escape. That of Austria we felt equally forlorn, drawn into the vortex of her maelstrom, and equally unable to withstand the snake-like charm of her gaze: but Austria, a powerful empire, had a loophole of escape, in the sympathy of England,—a conformity in the indigenous aristocratical bias and element of both countries,—the constitution and independence of Hungary. An empire with power founded on nationalities, and based on a regard to the respect due to the force acquired from observing religiously every condition, incidental and remote, affecting those especial attributes—despotic and effective by respecting national prejudices,—weak and infirm, by advocating or sanctioning any principle which naturally or indirectly encroached on them,—vaccillation, inde-

cision, an inability to unite, and reposing in a most undignified manner on power that is—the characteristic of imbecility and decrepitude of old age—all these are alas! too evident in the feature of the Cracow drama. The combined military power of those empires—on the right, with Holland, holding both banks of the Rhine, and thus menacing the frontiers of France, with the lake of Constance, and all the passes of the Alps and Italy in their grasp,—such a power, if languid on the offensive, from the slow German character, must be formidably reactionary when roused to danger, and destructive on the defensive, as proved by the last war ;—the two empires of Prussia and Austria on the extreme flanks, and the centre under the protection of Russian cannon, and an effective contingent. Against this there is France, a warlike, “hasty and rebellious” nation, as the Chaldeans of old, strong, and of great military prestige in those countries,—but that prestige most materially affected by her subsequent and reactionary destruction and defeat by those *humiliated powers*. The successes of her republican arms were various, brilliant, and for the moment decisive and astounding in their results ; but the great conquests which paralyzed, astonished and dispirited the world for a

time were those of French power concentrated under monarchy, or, as she chose to define it, Empire,—that idea, the result proved, was merely “*empiric*.” By her constitutional energy, enthusiasm and national advantages, she may be again in the onslaught ; but as her history has been, so will it be. France can never keep what she has conquered ; and we have more apprehension that she will be obliged to avail herself of the fortifications of Paris, than that she will ever again re-establish her influence by victory on the hostile banks of the Rhine or Danube,—an advance to the Vistula and Dwina are out of the question. We have, as opposed to this violation of treaty, the invincible and unconquered sea power of England—not contaminated by the foot of an enemy, when every other country licked the dust of defeat ; and who, with her armies of inferior force, repelled and conquered those that France ineffectually opposed to her in Spain and Portugal, during the war of the Revolution. Her might, in cordial co-operation with that of France, would decide the scale of empire. French statesmen—those not entirely blinded by the disgusting egotism and unextinguishable national hatred and antipathy of their countrymen to us,—are fully aware of it. But the am-

bition and hatred and jealousy of France is the great stumbling-block which renders union and diplomacy so difficult in this momentous crisis—when by this violation of treaty all nationalities, great and small, are indiscriminately threatened and insecure. The annexation of Cracow is a pause between the protocol and cannon ball.

The original occupation of Cracow by the three powers was the first note of the tolling bell of its funereal rites. On the score of treaty—on the score of a justification of its breach—on the attempt to refute the assumed power of abrogation—we will not waste our time or paper by a comment. Europe sullenly and disgracefully bends under the “*fait accompli*”—it is a mournful testimony to its impotence, a terrible and signal consummation of the triumph of refined duplicity and diplomacy over the conflicting interests of European policy, in furtherance of its own covert designs of universal empire. It is pretended that Cracow was the centre and focus of insurrection for all the disaffection of Poland, France and Europe. That the propagandism of France is most active, prying, and universal, we do not deny; but we know that nothing is more immediately known or restricted and cautious in its action, or watched



with closer circumspection—and we will say, that none is more easy of detection or more despicable in its results. We appeal to those who have visited those countries—who know the power of the police, its searching and rigorous examination, whether anything could escape, live or enthrone itself with the means of disseminating mischief (its purposes and occupation being known) in any one town of Austrian, Russian, or Prussian Poland. The name of France is a mere bugbear to serve the purposes of Northern policy. France can do nothing, either in the way of intrigue, influence, or fear, in these countries. Her agents, such as they are, are too contemptible to merit notice, and her propaganda, like herself, is a mere croaking frog.

Austria is the instrument and victim of this significant event. If Austria can effectually control, keep down and extinguish disaffection and rebellion in every one of her dependencies—if she can unresistingly pursue and continue the system which she has hitherto done with such success, (and there are no signs of its faltering)—if Russia can stifle every whisper in the bleak and endlessly extended deserts of Poland—aye! in its remotest corners,—if Poland could not even exist from the overwhelming power and hatred of the Muscovites

—what danger was there to be apprehended from this “*petite ville libre*?” None but those of Russian invention—exaggeration and subservient Austrian and Prussian fears. In Prussia—in Austria there are men yet to be found—men of the first blood of nobility of Brandenburg, Bohemia and Hungary—who, like the horse, scent the wolf from afar; but, unlike the horse, scent him not to tremble, but to meet, like the lion in his lair, the enemy who threatens their independence, under whatsoever guise he may appear. And there are generals in the Austrian service, now in command, of German origin,—men whose names are classed and recorded with the greatest in Germany’s war of independence, which destroyed the tyranny of the western tyrant—patriots who linked their fortunes to those of Austria. Is not Count Walmoden there? What has Austria, with such men, to fear—but, the degrading baseness and subserviency of her own decrepit and bed-ridden administrators? alas! might we not say destroyers?

The awful scenes which took place in Galicia, during the last insurrection and massacre of the nobles\* by the serfs or peasantry, are but faintly

\* It should be mentioned that the term noble is not synonymous with nobility in these countries, or as understood in our own, but

depicted by the whispers which escape from those countries who know no press, and whose only lucubrators are those contemptible French emissaries of the "National" and other incendiary publications of France. We do not speak of the German "illuminati," detesting as we do their principles ; they are far more dangerous, and beyond the pop-guns of French propaganda. These heart-rending scenes, we repeat, were so terrible that their faint echo alone has roused European attention. And how have these been communicated to Europe ? Through the *permitted* medium of the post-offices of Austria and Russia. All that is extravagant, violent and republican, goes Scot-free to its destination ; but a calculated, temperate, and judicious statement of facts finds its tomb in the post-office. The truth remains behind, and is stifled ;

has a much more widely diffused signification, like the *Legion d'Honneur* of France, and mistakes without end occur in its application to individuals and classes. A Preface will not admit of its definition to the full extent, nor shall we attempt it ; but Germany has carefully defined it, and England's sons, who travel far and wide, presume a little too much when they claim that distinction which is denied to their own people. The nobility of Austria alone assemble together ; that of England, by sufferance, admit of the presence of untitled pretenders, and by force of circumstances they meet, but do not amalgamate. Hence on the Continent the term "*noble*" is sadly misunderstood. The spirit is the same, but its application different.

but will however, like the sun, penetrate the mists of surrounding obstacles. The Gallician drama was Russian in its origin, Austrian in its details, and Russian in its results. That which destroyed Poland will destroy and has ruined Gallicia ;—the tyranny of the noble,—the oppression and slavery of the peasant,—the absence of a connecting link of a middle rank, and of a municipal fusion of classes. The Hungarian constitution has supported, saved and maintained that country ; they are wisely amending themselves—they are wise betimes Let one fact speak for Poland and Europe ;—let them know that papers are printed in Warsaw—and everything touching on the interests of that country headed by the name Poland is left blank !!—the waltzes, polkas and quadrilles of the world of fashion being duly registered.

The incorporation of the duchy of Warsaw with the Russian empire went the round of the German papers in a *quasi* official form, and was intentionally written. It was a diversion too evident, we should have thought, to have even eluded the dull sagacity of the southern diplomats. The French and English ministers were caught and asked the question. It was a mere *ruse* to take off a little of the attention of that Cracow absorption. No—say

the Czar's men of business—we do not lose the substance for the shadow. We leave you to wrangle about names. We rest on the accomplished facts, call them what you like.

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NOTE.—While writing our Preface, a constitution granted by the King of Prussia has been promulgated. On its merits and general tendencies, which are at least ultimate, it is no place here to descant; it is very cautiously constructed, governmental, and consultative in its element. The character impressed on it by its framers is eminently conservative. The northern monarchies have preserved their influence and power hitherto by the unrestricted exercise of monarchical right, controlled by public opinion. We do not apprehend that Prussia will acquire power by this step, nor that her external policy, which is spell-bound, will in any way be affected by its immediate workings; perhaps it may, in the end, serve the Prussian monarchy the same favour that the Constituent one did the French. England may catch at this constitution, to offer her sympathies; they will be received, with the same zeal and gravity that we habitually deplore on every occasion that we approach her Zollverein for the purpose of obtaining the removal of commercial restrictions.

Constitutions are not improvised. We have had a heavy, wearying and unsatisfactory proof of their progress and operations in Spain, Portugal and France. The two former countries are almost too contemptible to name. Opposition was overcome by foreign and adventitious aid, and government was established, or at least order (a very defined term), for a time; but these countries were of themselves unable to originate or confirm one element of power or obedience. Left to



themselves, the indigenous power of the country would have triumphed over foreign obstacles, and re-established that which was traditional and governmental. France, we say, is constitutional; but what is the basis of her pretensions? Do the Chambers govern—or can they? The monarch of the Barricades is king in the Tuileries and prime minister in the Chambers; and, by a liberal and judicious distribution of his enormous wealth, ensures his predominant influence.

There are three sorts of Constitutions. The British, of 500 years growth and development, impracticable and inimitable—France of the Assembly and Empire—and those anomalies in the Eastern and Western hemispheres called Charters and national representation. The prestige of monarchy has been subverted, and its sting substituted for its power. The irregular and despotic proceedings in France and Spain will bear us out in our assertion. The representative ultimate combinations of modern Constitutions must issue either in a Robespierre or a Napoleon.

“Et caligantem nigrâ formidine lucum.”





# APOLLYON

AND THE

## RE-ACTION OF THE SLAVONIANS.

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THE Eighteenth Century, baptized with the retributive blood and sacrifice of abused prescriptive rights and irresponsible tyrant government, having closed upon the destruction of French monarchy, which succumbed in a death collision and struggle against popular violence and indignation, justly roused by accumulated wrongs into action ;—the daring assaults of this new and self-raised, but merciless democracy, on the old continental governments ;—the wild, impetuous, sanguinary, and irresistible assertion of Robespierrian and popular supremacy, at a subsequent period controlled and marshalled by the diversion of war, having taken a concentrated direction under the auspices of an immortal leader,—the modern, impatient, restless, congenial demon of war ;—the Nineteenth Century opened on subjugated Europe crouching under the banner of Jacobin success. The uncontrollable impulse of French advance into countries and regions hitherto deemed inaccessible, had induced

an apprehension that universal despotism, and with it slavery, were about to be riveted on prostrate humanity—eternally and hopelessly. Austria, the great German Empire, Prussia, Russia, each and collectively, having struggled in vain with a powerful military array to arrest the progress of this insatiable foe, staggered beneath reiterated strokes. England, instinctively seized with the idea of responsibility, and penetrated with the reflection of the inevitable consequences of success on the part of this ruthless enemy,—which, under the mask of republicanism and championship of the rights of man, was riveting the chains of tyranny and oppression,—refused to treat with the impostor, declaring to the world, by the mouth of her great minister, that peace could only be obtained by the ultimatum of “indemnity for the past and security for the future;”—the same who with a prophetic sigh exclaimed, “the map of Europe is closed, to be opened only in twenty years,” and, by the force of his gigantic mind and patriot eloquence, roused into exertion all his country’s resources, and strained every nerve to save her and the world from the dreadful vortex of French ambition. True to his councils bequeathed to her, England planted the standard of victory under the protection of her invincible armies in Spain, whose sons implored her help. Animated by the impulse which England’s extraordinary success inspired, Russia and Germany rose at the people’s cry, and the legions of patriotism hurled the selfish tyrant and his

devoted supporters from their usurped and unholy pre-eminence. The map of Europe was again opened, but with no final settlement. Restoration, re-action, revolution, followed successively. Provinces became kingdoms and kingdoms provinces; new combinations were made and unmade. The people sighed at the disappointment of their hopes, as France sunk and was confined within the allotted boundaries of conquest. England, whose mission was essentially peace and the advancement of commerce, offspring of her immortal constitutional liberty, ill comprehending her great destiny, abdicated her proud and hard-earned position to the intrigues of Russian despotism. Politics, protocols took the place of the sword, and the world's attention, exhausted by war, became in a measure riveted (but faintly and rather forcedly) on the affairs of the East and the ill-disguised ambition of the great ruler of that widely extended northern empire, and the neighbouring people, comprehended under the general denomination of Slavonian, and subject to the falling Ottoman power. Europe having put down one tyrant, had apparently only fostered another to struggle against.

The remains of the great imperial army of France appearing again in the field in support of broken faith, was annihilated by British prowess in Belgium, in an attempt to disturb Europe, for the purpose of re-asserting a lost supremacy. The last of the infatuated and devoted race of the Bourbons was crowned at Rheims in 1825. His



responsive address commenced thus : “ *Cette occasion, heureuse pour moi, et j’espère heureuse pour la France.*” We were close to the unfortunate but amiable monarch when he uttered these words in reply to the Pope’s legate, who read the address of congratulation from the assembled ambassadors on this remarkable occasion. In one sense he was fortunate, that of being crowned king of France in a legal line, after so violent an interruption in the succession, an event which could hardly have been calculated upon ; but his subsequent banishment was a sad commentary on the latter part of the sentence just quoted,—“ *heureuse pour la France.*” It was also fortunate for the well-being of France, and the repose and tranquillity of the world, that his despotic imbecility had rendered nugatory his contemplated tyranny at home, and his ill-conceived, futile and ambitious designs on those nations who had sacrificed so much to restore him ; a course of policy which would have brought on a harassing state of war, instead of a necessary, healing, and beneficial peace.

The feeling of restlessness, superinduced by the late stirring times of conflict, had too strongly possessed the minds of men to be allayed without finding a diversion for it in other fields of action. The question of the independence of the Spanish American colonies suggested itself to Europe. Whatever advice might have been tendered by the only man capable of giving it, and more especially authorized to do so by the services he had

rendered to Spain, we know not ; but we apprehend it would have been such, had it been accepted, as would have spared Spain the degradation of losing her colonies in the manner she did, and England the nefarious policy of lending a surreptitious and indirect aid in wresting them from her ; for the purpose of gratifying a buccaneering spirit of enterprise and commercial adventure, which in the end terminated in the ruin of so many thousand families, in search of an El Dorado.

Spain was too powerless at home, to be enabled to secure or enforce obedience abroad. The misrule of her domestic government was too weak. Priestcraft and despotism were not powers to be counselled or reasoned with ; and the whole American continent became dotted with monarchical colonies, a great republic, dictatorships, smaller confederacies and democracies, and a contemptible empire, set up in imitation of European monarchies. The English minister subsequently stated, that a “ new world had been called into existence.” It was a brilliant metaphor, boldly announced to excuse his country’s participation in this most derogatory and mistaken line of conduct ; contrasting sadly with the superior tact, wisdom and address of Russian statesmen, who stamp on countries essential to their government the impress of national power, with temperate, adequate, and well-considered calculations. Events are daily furnishing most alarming and conclusive evidences of their consummately conceived measures, pre-

paring a way for the certain issue in silence, without having to announce (as an excuse for glaring failure), in glowing effusion of language, unreal existences or imaginary worlds ;—the destruction of all opposing elements, plans well conceived and deliberately carried out, one straightforward and undeviating line of a well-digested policy, founded on the principle of aggrandizement ;—Turkey, Navarino, Poland, Greece, those thundering names and trumpet-tongued events, of too ominous and real import to be confounded with the wretched and beggarly results of the “new created world” of British conception, brigand courage, rapacious mercantile expediency and adventure.

This complete triumph of the combined military might of Europe over her oppressor has given us a signal interval of peace, bringing on an æra remarkable for religious, political and literary disquisition, when universal mental culture and extraordinary intellectual development may be presumed to have attained their meridian height. The obscure and misty occurrences of antiquity, analyzed by the unceasing researches of man, are brought out into a broader light ; the present, like a rapid changing panorama, passes in quick review.

The aim of the statesman, the philosopher, and the historian, is to trace these effects to their causes, and build up their systems which promise longer duration, the assumption of all being the perfectibility of man ; upon that frail foundation their theories have crumbled into ruins, and

betrayed their paper edifice, while those same causes which destroyed empire are still at work, and continue to act without interruption and with deadly effect, keeping the social order in a state of feverish and painful anxiety. Yet man is blind to their workings, although living while their influences are in unceasing, fatal, increasing, and redoubled action, defying every attempt to arrest or define their operation, and course, and tendencies.

The age of monarchy or empire, like that of man, both moral and physical, has its youth, manhood, and decay; the same causes producing like effects, with violent intermissions of fever and revolution, debility, prostration or renovation, subject to the laws which govern the action and re-action of social progress. Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome are passed away;—a name in history that such did exist, a few broken columns attest their fallen greatness; but even the latter attestation of past life has been denied to the once great Babylonian empire, known only by its written and recorded judgments; there the very dust from which man sprung has destroyed, in proud contempt, his vain efforts to insure immortality and asserted its native superiority. The acquisition of empire and its duration has always been renowned, progressive, and prosperous, in proportion to the predominant moral feeling which governed its institutions and habits; its reform and decay have always had relation to its enfeebled action. The revolutions of empires, their changes and phases, are fixed

indications of the past great, but inevitable and terrible struggle of humanity in a state of transition. The gradual but partial diffusion of light in the empires of Greece and Rome, reflected from the more distant glimmerings of Egyptian lore, is all that remains of the established customs of a people who would otherwise have sunk into oblivion. Power was given, but the terms of its tenure, despised by those to whom it was entrusted, passed away from the feeble and wicked hands who wielded it, leaving ruin and desolation to attest and avenge its abuse.

The extraordinary rise and fall of nations appear by the light of historical knowledge but the dream of yesterday. The foundation and progress of the spiritual kingdom,—which with silent but sure steps asserted and is still asserting her irresistible right to empire over man's mind; the revolutions produced by her operations; the opposition of infidelity;—are entering deeply into the eventful actions of the day and controlling their tendencies: although displaying no open pretensions to dominion, yet her influence is omnipotent, conferring on her worshippers right, power, and happiness. The greatest and most audacious effort made to curtail and annihilate her influence led to the outbreak of the revolution in France, and the attempt made by that country to conquer the world (which a fortuitous combination of opposing circumstances alone frustrated) was the most recent endeavour to assert and establish universal

dominion. The attempt to enslave man, morally and physically, was an abortion of the West; but the rising power of the North, with an enthusiastic and devoted population, has usurped the same position, and strives to maintain it by wiser and better calculated means, with the partial aid of truth, gathering round her banner, and calling into existence, a new people, to facilitate her dawning prosperity and eventual dominion.

The Danube, king of rivers,—so named by him who traversed all Europe, and pre-eminently associated her shores with the proudest recollections of his days of success and glory, and who, in open avowal and solitary meditation on the far-famed rock of the ocean, stamped the deeds there achieved as his greatest,—flows in a course from West to East, losing herself in the Black Sea. This river has been the theatre of many eventful transactions of ancient and modern times, and was the special object of an ancient people—the rulers of the world, whose penetration nothing escaped; and who formed there a barrier between themselves and the barbarians, by raising on her banks several important cities as stations of defence. But all efforts were vain; this obstacle was overthrown by hosts pouring in continued succession from the North-East, and establishing themselves on the wrecks of former power. There is nothing new under the sun, and what has once happened, may and will happen again. Great as was the import-



ance, highly as this river was appreciated by a mighty people, desperate as had been the struggles to preserve a position on her shores, power yielded to repeated attacks, and the boundary and defence of empire became in turn the seat from which empire sprung ; and in these times of enterprise and speculation, instead of a confused succession of rafters transporting the naked savage to war and destruction,—in place of aiding and forwarding devastation, industry and commerce are borne on her streams, to disseminate their benefits among far countries. Where the voice of a host of warriors once resounded, now is the peaceful murmur of the water only disturbed by the greatest and most signal power of human and modern ingenuity. This river now connects instead of hostilely dividing society, facilitating the interchange between the two great quarters of the globe, and, with the commerce of the world, imparting the blessing of civilization ; bearing down truth on her waters to enlighten and scatter the mists of error and barbarian ignorance. How many and how great changes has she been witness to ! Of what portentous event may she not yet be destined to become the theatre ! Huns, Crusaders, Mussulmans, have all in their turns baptized her with their blood ; which, like her waters, has passed away and been lost in the Black Sea of time, leaving their memory, like her name, to be recorded in the page of the eventful history of man.

Great also in history and tradition, but more picturesque, the rival Rhine has been allied with her in many a deed of mighty import, but not so majestic and imposing, or of such deep interest, as connected with the future and apparently closing history of the world. Armies and conquerors have contended for possession and empire on their banks. They have been fiercely courted and bravely won by the sons of freedom and by the slaves of despotism ; still they flow on unconcernedly and unimpeded in their course, like wanton coquettes, inviting and seeking fresh conquests.

The sweeping storm of barbarism which raged over Europe under the enfeebled Roman sceptre, overwhelming in its progress and fury the mightiest empires of antiquity, changed the face of society. Rising suddenly and mysteriously from the marshes of the Danube, it spread desolation far and wide amongst the adjacent countries, which, on its subsiding, ended in the settlement of the present kingdoms of Europe. The Huns, a people like the locusts of Egypt, ravaged the settled and civilized portion of the globe ; and, crossing and following the course of her streams, poured in from regions unknown to Roman conquest. Invited by their weak state, occasioned by the disturbing and destroying influences of heathen corruption and internal discord, the progress of these ruthless conquerors was as rapid as it was fatal. Assailed by two deadly enemies, the mild but uncompromising and irresistible influence of Christianity,

on the one side ; and, on the other, by innumerable swarms of barbarians, Rome fell, and crouched to the more hardy and less effeminate invaders. The shattered fragments of this extended empire were portioned out to the successful chiefs, which changes, sometimes violent, at other times unfelt, effaced again and consigned to oblivion or new destinies.

The transfer of empire to the East under the emperors, and their conversion to Christianity, laid the foundation and favoured that of the invading infidels to the dominant religion, in spite of the doctrinal differences in incipient, though active operation, which separated the two pretenders to orthodoxy. The religion of the sword was then in embryo, until at a later period it was drawn from the sheath, establishing its influence with its power amidst burning and slaughter. The seed once sown was too thickly scattered to be eradicated by human violence and human means ; and the East, originally the cradle of the new doctrines, still retains (however disguised, mutilated or disfigured) the germs of its first planting ; and the countries of the Slavonians, from the North to the East, have been distinguished by their ready adoption of, and steady adherence to, the faith of the Cross.

From the shores of the Baltic to the banks of the Cattaro, from the deserts of Central Asia to the confines of civilized Europe, impatiently awaiting the nod of despotism, this energetic barbarian race

stand in threatening attitude, and brook with ill-disguised reluctance the efforts to controul and calculate their reaction on trembling and enervated civilization. The fiat of the great leader, on whom their regards are fixed, is their law; and that law they defy Europe to disobey. Whether the czar, in full confidence on the strength of their devotion, dethrones or elevates a monarch, his diplomacy, backed by their ardour, challenges resistance; until, with the most perfect contempt at the pusillanimity of the West, he shall think the moment of action propitious to proclaim himself sovereign of the East and West and arbiter of the world.

Oppressors and oppressed, the founders and destroyers of empires, despots and slaves, those people have undergone all the changes and revolutions of society; but still they retain an originality of character, with features too deeply marked to be entirely destroyed by the sweeping hand of time. As obscure in their origin, and as insignificant in their apparent relative positions to the rest of the civilized world as the ferocious Moguls and subsequently the terrific Turkomans, and those hordes of Central Asia who, at a later period of history, sprung up into sudden and desolating action, and gave a name to one of the greatest changes in religion and morality; and who, by a bold and vigorous effort, almost destroyed the faith which recommended temperance and forbearance, substituting in its place the most degrading and brutal sensuality:—like those nations whose existence

was scarce felt, until, as a shock of thunder and with the scathing rapidity of lightning, they announced themselves to a careless and sleeping world, by the horrors of conquest and desolation;—as such, and as little heeded, are the nations whose reaction is now in silent but actual and sure progress; and as irresistible will be the development of their power, when once their energies, now dormant, are roused into a course of action. And while old Europe is sleeping over its past glories, while corruption is undermining the foundation and resources of states, those people of primitive habits, of obedience and devotion to a cherished cause, will burst out as the irresistible champions in that war of opinion with which society is hourly threatened; its progress will be hastened or retarded by their development; and for that moment only the signal of war, with all its woful features, awaits to assert its deadly power.

We have seen clouds gathering in the West and over the East, lowering and darkening the political horizon, but they have passed away for the moment, leaving the atmosphere charged with vapours which a brighter sun seeks in vain to dispel, until accumulating and gathering together they burst at once on those regions destined for ruin and desolation. The late events in the East have excited a feeling in those countries of the Slavonians that no power can controul, and which it would be greatly impolitic (at least it would form no part of

Russian policy) to check. The impatience manifested by this enthusiastic race to shake off the empire of the waning Crescent, though animated by feelings reflecting the greatest honour on human nature, stand in hostile array against those maxims of cold speculative policy, which, while they agitate and increase popular ferment, often stimulate opposing principles into wild, ungovernable action,—subverting the best feelings of our nature, or turning them into channels for the purposes of private or public ambition ; and, defeating their own object, often take a direction in the end totally opposite to the intentions of those who originated them. At this moment those causes are at work, and in most certain operation, in these interesting countries. The match has been lighted, but whether the fire will burn sufficiently long to suit the purposes of the calculating politicians of the day, especially of those of the Northern hemisphere, remains yet to be seen ; but while the short-sighted philosophers are turning their eyes to the Rhine, a more interesting river is big with the future fate of the world, and awaits the hour to assert and avenge her neglected rights and prescriptive importance.

We will proceed to compress and glean from the best and most approved Slavonic historians and German authorities, a retrospective and summary sketch of the early development—historical, political, social, and geographical position—of the Slaavs.

It would be impossible to form a competent



judgment, and equally useless to hazard a supposition, upon their origin, and the early formation of their language: the few unsatisfactory, superficial accounts transmitted to us can only, after a laboured process, be traced to the region of fable.

It may be stated, however, with regard to the ancient history of this remarkable people, and in order to render our account of them more complete, that, according to Szafarzyk, as cited in a recent work upon the subject,\* the Slavonians arrived in Europe at a very remote period. From Herodotus we learn that they supplied the Greeks with amber from the Baltic. At a later period we find the Slavonians inhabiting the shores of the Adriatic engaged in war with Philip, and afterwards with Alexander the Great; they were reduced by the latter conqueror, but, soon after his death, regained their ancient liberty. The Romans next conquered their country, and called it the province of Illyria; comprehending, under that denomination, Thrace and Dacia. According to Jornandes, the Slavonians were formerly called *Venedi*; and Pliny, (iv. 13.) says that they lived about the banks of the Vistula. Ptolemy places them on the eastern shore of the Baltic, which he calls the Venedian Gulf; and Procopius (*De Bello Goth.* iii.) says that “formerly the Slavonians and Antæ had the same name; both were called *Spori*, probably because they live in a scattered manner (*sporaden*)

\* *Sur la Serbie, dans ses Rapports Européens avec la Question d'Orient*, par M. L. de S. Bystrznowski. Paris, 1845.

in isolated huts, and they occupy, for that reason, a large extent of country : they possess the greatest part of the farther banks of the Danube."

These are the oldest accounts that we possess of the countries inhabited by the Slavonians, but when and whence they came to these various parts is not satisfactorily shown, but we shall take what Jornandes says respecting them :—"Dacia is secured by Alps (*i. e.* the Carpathian), on whose left side, which, from the source of the Vistula runs to the north through an immense extent, the nation of the Winidi have their settlements. Although their names vary in various tribes and places, they call themselves Slavonians and Antæ." He also states that this nation was conquered in the year 376, by Hermanarik, king of the Goths ; and that "these, as we have said, proceed from the same blood, and have three names, Venedi, Antæ, and Slavonians, who for our sins are ravaging everywhere" (*i. e.* in the Roman empire).

About the year 527, the Slavonians appeared on the borders of the empire, invaded the Greek provinces, and committed great ravages. They devastated all the country from the Ionian Sea to the walls of Constantinople, and besieged the capital itself. Belisarius at length succeeded, by presents and force, in removing them from Constantinople. They afterwards settled on the banks of the Danube, and in the year 581 again invaded the empire. The emperor Tiberius was unable to repel the Slavonians, and he induced the khan of

the Avars to attack them, who completely reduced them, and they afterwards served in the wars of their new masters, till their yoke was at length broken by the Slavonians of Bohemia, who rose against their oppressors under the command of a chieftain named Samo. Their emancipation was followed by the acquisition of territory; they entered Illyria, expelled the Avars, and founded new colonies under the names of Slavonia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia, and Dalmatia. The Greek emperors at first favoured their settling in the imperial provinces, and in the seventh century there were Slavonian settlements on the river Strymon in Thrace, in the vicinity of Thessalonica, in Mœsia or the modern Bulgaria, and in the Peloponnesus; and a great number settled in Bithynia and other provinces in Asia.

The rapid extension of the possessions of the Slavonians was remarkable. Thus, in the ninth century, these people occupied a large part of eastern Europe, extending from the Black Sea along the Danube and to the westward of that river on the shore of the Adriatic, embracing among their acquisitions the ancient Roman provinces of Pannonia, Dacia, Illyricum and Dalmatia. Their settlements reached from the northern part of the Adriatic bordering on the Tyrol and Bavaria to the upper part of the Elbe, and they occupied the country between that river and the Saal, as well as all the right bank of the Elbe, extending over the southern shore of the Baltic

from Jutland to the mouths of the Vistula. From the Vistula the Slavonians spread over most of the country between that river and the Danube. They therefore possessed the countries which now constitute the greater part of the Austrian empire, Hungary, the provinces bordering on Italy and the Tyrol, Bohemia and Moravia,\* a great part of Saxony, the March of Brandenburg, Silesia, Pomerania, and the island of Rügen, to which should also be added the territory which constituted ancient Poland, and a considerable portion of the present Russian dominions.

The epoch of the mental cultivation of the Slavonians, and their conversion to Christianity, is the point of history that we can with certainty trace as grounds for consideration. The Slavonians of the South were the first who, educated by Greek, Italian, and German monks, became converts to the new doctrines. So early as the sixth synod of Constantinople (A.D. 680) the Slavonians are enumerated among the Christian nations; but idolatry was still prevalent among them, and the entire conversion of the people was not effected till a later period, through the indefatigable zeal of Cyrillus and Methodius; who, it is said, were sent by the Greek emperor Michael on this mission. They extended their labours beyond the frontiers of Moravia and

\* The ancient Slavonian state, called Grand Moravia, as we shall presently see, was a very different territory from the province which now bears that name.

converted Bohemia, A.D. 873 ; and it is even supposed that they visited Poland.

The middle and northern Slavonians succeeded only, after repeated and desperate struggles, in emancipating themselves from the errors of heathenism ; then laying aside their original Slaval oriental language, they received from Greece the alphabet,—an indispensable and essential condition of all cultivation ; but the glorious spiritual dawn of religion and civilization broke but gradually on the people of Bosnia, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Pannonia.

Cyrillus and Methodius, who possessed a thorough knowledge of the language, translated the Scriptures, or at least a portion of them, into the Slavonian tongue ; and having completed their task, they established the worship of the Almighty in the vernacular language and founded schools, having also invented the letters which are denominated the Cyrillic Alphabet. Little now remained, it would seem, to render permanent the dialect of the two brothers,—the great apostles of the Slavonians. But the force of events, which often control the most useful undertakings, even if they fail in entirely destroying them, tended to neutralize the labours of these zealous men. The mission of Cyrillus and Methodius took place during those fierce disputes between the patriarch of Constantinople and the pope of Rome, which finally led to the separation of the Eastern from the Western Church ; and among the many subjects of con-

troversy, the authority over the newly converted Slavonian nations formed one of the most important between Rome and Constantinople. Cyrillus and Methodius, indeed, appear to have acknowledged the supremacy of the pope, and not that of the Greek patriarch, although they introduced among their converts the rites of the Eastern Church.\* The Poles and Bohemians, influenced by the priests of Rome, refused to adopt the alphabet of Cyrillus to its fullest extent ; but extracted from it a language compounded of German and Latin. In 1094 the Slavonian books were destroyed by the zealous promoters of the Roman ritual in Bohemia, and that form of worship finally prevailed in that country and in Poland. The Pannonians and Dalmatians, who were permitted to celebrate the public worship of the Almighty in their vernacular language, had recourse to the Oriental alphabet, while the other Slavonians adopted the Latin. Those of Serbia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Moldavia and Wallachia, part of Pannonia and Poland, alone adhered to the Cyrillic alphabet and the old Slaval language of the Church ; and the Serbians and Bulgarians still retain the use of that alphabet.

The Slavonian people were not averse to the arts of peace, and commerce and agriculture were cultivated by them to the neglect of the use of arms.

\* Rome could not long endure a ritual which deviated from that which it had established, and the council of Salona, held in 1060, proclaimed Cyrillus a heretic and his alphabet a diabolical invention.



They fell in consequence more or less, at different times, under the government of their neighbours. Among their formidable enemies were the Franks ; latterly, in the South, the Turks and Magyars ; in the West, the Germans ; and, in the East, the Mongols. Divided under so many masters, compelled to adopt the political relations, religion, customs and speech of the conquerors, they became more and more estranged. Each tribe occupied itself, as far as lay in its power, in preserving its individual nationality. Taking this into consideration, it becomes perfectly clear to understand how the descendants of a race, having one language, should manifest so different a degree of cultivation, and how their dialects so essentially vary ; and this without taking in account the tribes that became altogether German, and of whose Slaval origin not a vestige remains.

The race of Sarmatians, or northern Slavonians, —strangers to the cultivated nations of Europe, separated from them by hordes of wild Scythians and the endless steppes, cut off as by an iron wall from the mild rays of that sun which expanded in the fields of Greece the never-fading flowers of the spirit,—seized and occupied in remotest ages the cities of the Baltic, and those extending along the banks of the Vistula. Although the beams of the sun of Greece had not cheered them with its rays, they lived under the fostering influences of inherit cultivation and religious institutions. As in the land of their origin they held sacred the division

of society into castes, one of which is that peculiar people, upon whom so much attention is now bestowed. The castes of the nobles, of the warriors,—those who bore the illustrious name of “Slava,” are likewise of Sarmatian origin, who in later days gave that name to the whole race. These people, pressing on and extending themselves far and wide on every side,—the Tartarian and Scythian race in the wildernesses of North Asia, the Moravians and Germans beyond the Elbe and Weser,—laid the foundation of a great Slavonian kingdom, which eventually fell to pieces by the internal dissensions and jealousies of the respective leaders. Their capital, the great emporium of the North, was the celebrated Vinita, at the mouth of the Oder, in whose metropolis, “Sulin,” their princes governed, and deposited their treasures, until towns and fortifications, like Plato’s Atalanta, were destroyed by earthquake and irruption of the sea. The city, although again restored, never reached its ancient consequence, yet was enabled to repel the attacks of the northern warriors, until the tenth century, when the Danish king Swene destroyed every vestige of it.

When reference is made to the original country, castes, and government of the Slavonians, no other can be indicated than India. Should historical evidences be wanting, the religion and language of this people speak out more distinctly for this decision than a dead alphabet.

No language possesses so great an affinity to the

Sanscrit ; the natives of the respective Slavonian countries can not only make themselves understood by each other, however widely they may be separated, but also several of their learned men, when in Asia, have made themselves intelligible to the Indians in their native tongue, thereby proving their idiom to be nothing more than a dialect of the Sanscrit. The most ancient written Slavonian language, by which a comparison can be instituted, is that into which Cyrillus and Methodius translated the Scriptures, which was the dialect of the Slavonians who inhabited the banks of the Danube, for whom this translation was made from the Septuagint.

In the idolatry of the ancient Slavonians, we find the same prominent features of Indian mythology ; Brama, Vishnu and Seva, are represented by the Slavonian Perun, Volos and Koleda ; and both in common held the doctrine of the immortality and the transmigration of the soul : and a more decided proof consists in the fact of the detestable rite which forced the widow on the burning pile of her husband, being also a custom common to both. The above-mentioned gods,—Perun, the god of thunder ; Volos, the god of flocks ; and Koleda, the god of festivals ;—were worshipped by the eastern Slavonians ; and the common people even now, in many parts of Poland and Russia, call the time of Christmas, Koleda, as the festival of that god was anciently celebrated on the 24th of December. The Slavonians of the Baltic acknowledged two principles, one of good and the other of

evil. The former was called Biel Bog, or the "white god," from whom all that was good proceeded ; and the second Cherni Bog, or the "black god," who was the cause of all evil. Of the other deities worshipped by these people, we may mention Porenut, whose idol had four faces, and a fifth on his breast, supposed to have been the god of the seasons ; Porevit, represented with five hands ; Rughevit, supposed to be the god of war, whose idol had seven faces, seven swords suspended at his side, and an eighth in his hand. These three idols were in the island of Rügen, the last asylum of Slavonian idolatry ; but the Slavonian divinities have usually more than one head, and many of them have on some part of their body either a human face, signifying the good principle, or a lion's head, denoting the evil principle. It is also worthy of observation, that many have also the figure of a beetle on them, which would appear to denote an Egyptian origin—the scarabæus regarded with such profound veneration by that remarkable people.

The Slavonians being a people by nature spirited, excitable, eager after novelty, and easily influenced, Christianity found ready entrance amongst them through various channels. The inhabitants of the great Moravian kingdom, which embraced Moravia, a part of Bohemia and Hungary, we have seen, first received from Byzantine missionaries the new religion ; but their influence was soon destroyed in the Western

provinces by the Romish bishop stretching forth his grasping arm, and delivering them over as a field of action to the operations of his Latin monks. In the mean time, events had effected the separation of the two religions ; and the Greek Church, assisted by the favouring circumstances of her situation, neglected not to draw into her magic circle the Russians, which event took place in the eleventh century. The Russian archbishop of Moscow bowed to the supremacy of the patriarch of Constantinople, until the fall of the Eastern Roman empire : at that time the patriarch of Moscow became the head of the Slavonian Church ; and since Peter I., this supremacy has been exercised by the czar of Russia.

The orthodox Grecian Church exercises a far more righteous influence over the consciences of men than the Roman ; her religious confession approaches nearer to the old traditional dogmas of Christianity in its first stage of corruption, her practices breathe more of Eastern enthusiasm, and the manners of the married priesthood do not shock morality so much. The inhabitants of the cloisters, at least, continue to keep up an appearance of purity of conduct in the eyes of the people. Fasting and religious ceremonies, and privations, constitute their religion ; doctrinal preaching is but little practised ; they are taught the most abject submission to the spiritual and lay authority, and, consequently, are a ready instrument in the hands of power. For which reason, the Russian monarch

exerts all his influence to extirpate the religion of Rome ; while the latter looks to a spiritual support from without, the former endeavours by mild or violent means to concentrate the Slavonians under the shield of the Greek Church. Should it succeed with the unhappy Poles, it will most assuredly fail in those countries which profess the opposing religions, more especially the Catholic, against whom he has declared open war, but their numbers are too insignificant to offer a serious obstacle to any project he might entertain.

The Moravian and Russian Slavonians, we have seen, received Christianity from Byzantium, while the Poles were more immediately indoctrinated by Roman monks. Brussia, Windin, Dalibezzia, Russolia, were more and more overpowered by the pressure of increasing masses, that with fire and sword, driving the inhabitants out of the heart of Germany, had nearly annihilated them. Brandenburg, the only kingdom founded by the Slavonians, still retains its power, but this has become completely Germanized,—as completely as the Slavonian population of Pomerania, Mecklenburg, the island of Rügen, and of Saxony. In the remaining Slavonian states, Russia, Poland, Bohemia, the life of the people displayed itself in different ways according to the influence of circumstances.

Russia,—the great Slavonian empire and head, the central sun of the aspirations of these Slavonic nations and tribes, the object even of their religious worship, in the person of the czar, as the head of



the Church,—comprehends within its influences all those without its own territories in Asia and Europe. Subjugated in the earliest ages by those wandering armies of Scythians, Tartars,—in later years known under the denomination of Mongols,—profiting by the lessons of adversity and perseverance in a course of unceasing hostility, she succeeded eventually in throwing off the yoke of her oppressors, and recovered her country and religion from their grasp—while on the one side she so successfully contended with the savage hordes of Asiatic and Mongol conquerors, the power of her nobility was destroyed, and the people brought into the most abject subjection by her rulers adopting the maxims of the fallen government, and appropriating their energetic Tartar policy, in which she has ever since persevered and maintained an undeviating adherence. Poland, with her characteristic chivalry and military energy, came to the aid of Russia and Europe, resisted Moslem supremacy, and assisted in confirming the establishment and preservation of Christianity, both in her own countries and those of her neighbours. In this land of misfortune and of extreme penury, domestic slavery and aristocratic privileges, the land of peer and peasant, free noble and peasant slave, of nobles and Jews,—the relations of life in all those gradations which promote happiness and stability of power and government,—the medial state of connection between prescriptive rights and galling servitude had not developed itself: every petty

nobleman imagining himself a king, and assuming to himself the possession and exercise of irresponsible authority ; and, in modern times, it is to this feeling that Poland owes her destruction and erasure from the map of Europe ; demonstrating the utter incompatibility of feudal tyranny maintaining itself under the plausible references to the support of reactionary democracy ;—these very nobles calling on peasant support, while excluding them from participation in common constitutional rights. The third estate, in spite of the efforts of the great Casimir, failed in securing consideration and asserting their place. It laid open Poland to the Jews,—driven from every other country, persecuted and detested to the utter ruin of conscience and trade ; and these countries owe much, even at this day, to that doomed race. The gallant, chivalric, and “unfortunate Pole” meets us in every corner of the world, and we sympathize and feel deeply for his melancholy position and banishment ; but we do not hear, nevertheless, that the condition of those remaining,—the peasant class,—has by any means deteriorated or suffered by Russian rule. The Polish nobles are there in Europe, a lesson to those aristocracies, who, sympathising with Russian despotism, look on their cause as that of Russia. “*Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos,*” has been the password of conquest ; and in scriptural language, he may come with “crowns of gold on his head and the face of the people be turned towards him.” Poland

is a great lesson and awful warning to every constitutional country that has independence to preserve in Europe, in its causes, consequences, and effects. Oppression, whether of rule or wealth, will meet with resistance, and that resistance will become righteous, when pushed and goaded on to extremity by unfeeling avarice or tyrannical and overbearing power, and the goaded and oppressed will not be backward in courting alliances which offer relief. The partition of Poland stands as a record of what constitutional countries may expect who rely on the faith of treaties for protection, when the power is there to violate them ; it points with the finger of scorn and warning to every treaty made ; while she, unavenged, ghostlike, in the torn and tattered garments of liberty, frowns on them. During the imperial regime, France had the power of doing a signal act of justice to her, and avenging Europe,—but congenial despotism could not bring herself to deny her nature—and France, like Russia, baffled her hopes, consumed her best blood, sneered at her associations, confirmed her destiny, and found and left her with the chain about her neck, riveted more strongly, if possible, than ever. He who, it is said, contemplated the transfer of empire to the East, could ill suffer the neighbourhood of an independent nation of free-men. He built up kingdoms, but placed despotism at the head of them,—his personal representatives of delegated and irresponsible government. Every

movement of conquest or of diplomacy serves only to rivet her fetters more firmly,—every convulsion, in every social movement, adds only another link to the chains by which she is held down.

Bohemia and the neighbouring countries assumed more the political character of the European West ; but soon lost their independence, although their language had been cultivated and their inhabitants at an earlier period awakened into spiritual life. Nevertheless, all recollection of their former glory had not been obliterated from the memory of the people, whose echoes resounded still in the popular songs of the olden time, having formerly possessed a literature themselves. Poetry took the place of and pre-eminence over prose, as the dream of an infant that of the first wisdom of life.

The brightest period of Bohemia's literature was from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, from Charles IV. to the subjugation of that country by Ferdinand. While letters in England and Germany still slumbered, Bohemia contended successfully with the brightest ornaments of that day in Italy, of the fruits of which however a great deal is lost to the present day. Roman fanaticism, in imitation of Mahometan destruction at Alexandria, by the hands of subservient and monkish bigotry consigned her most valuable books to the flames. The monuments of Bohemian literature extend as far back as the tenth century, but the most remarkable remnants of ancient Bohemian literature were only

recently discovered by Professor Hanka in 1817. The *Kralodvorski* contains the fragments of a collection of lyric and epic poems, composed apparently in the thirteenth century ; and is said to surpass all similar productions of the middle ages in their poetical beauties, deep and tender feeling and purity of language.

Christianity spread over Germany by the agency of certain Scottish monks, and the spirit of free inquiry and sound doctrine emanated from the independent spirit of the “ultima Thule.” Wickliff’s doctrines, found an echo in the bosom of the countrymen of Huss, who, like Luther afterwards in Germany, commenced a new era for literature in Bohemia. The light of reformation never sank,—its soft rays warmed into life the flowers of science and knowledge. The Poles remained not behind their neighbours ; Kochanowsky’s name shone conspicuous amongst those celebrated and esteemed in Polish literature, most flourishing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Augustan era of Polish literature, reigned Sigismund I., and it was during his time that the human mind received a new impulse from the Reformation ; and the translation of the Bible tended in Poland, as elsewhere, to improve the national language. Soon, alas ! Christianity began to degenerate into the false and impious doctrines of Socinius and Servetus, who readily found followers, most numerous among the free towns of Sibenbergen.

Poland's literature sprung up in imitation of the French, as the poetry of England now first shone out like a meteor from her remote isle, triumphant over the play of words and polished but superficial wit of France. The southern Slavonians, Illyria, Serbia, now first entered on the contest of letters in which Russia is taking no insignificant interest; while, on the other side, all the efforts of Austria are directed to suppress the bursting forth of a national Slaval literature, dreading the first germs of the development of a feeling of self-independence amongst her subjects.

REACTION OF THE GERMANS GENERALLY  
AGAINST THE SLAVONIANS.

The countries of Hanover, Oldenberg, Brunswick, Saxony, Mecklenberg, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Prussia, &c. &c., where the German language is not only the prevailing but the only one, formed at one period the western part of the kingdom of the Slavonians; until by degrees it melted away entirely into the Germans. The war of extermination, which lasted for years against the Slavonians inhabiting the north of Germany, ended by Albert I. forbidding the use of the old Prussian language, and with it every vestige of Slavonic element vanished for ever.

In the southern countries, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Austria, Steyermark, Carinthia, &c. &c., a far milder system was adopted for the purpose of exterminating the Slavonians. This was partially



carried on in the above-named countries, until Hapsburgh's sons became their masters when the religious struggles gave the Austrian rulers a favourable pretext for a more decided interference. The degrading despotism of Ferdinand II. is familiar to all readers of history, by means of which he destroyed, in Bohemia, freedom, religion and everything that was national and precious, and reduced it to a complete province of Austria ; which decisive proceedings were followed up by the total destruction of their spirit by Austria's most enlightened and ablest prince, Joseph II.

The first-named prince compelled the Bohemians, in obedience to the laws of necessity, to yield a reluctant submission and become hypocrites. The result of the measures adopted by Joseph tended to awaken in them a more lively sense of their own position and interest.

Then commences, as the natural consequence, a more favourable prospect for the Austrian Slavonians, although only apparently so ; the present Austrian government having made it a question of vital importance to separate the provinces, so as by that means to frustrate any simultaneous attempt on their part at union. How far this will succeed in the desired aim is at best but problematical ; while on the one side the well known disinclination of the Slavonians towards each other exists, on the other it is not to be mistaken but that such measures might casually unite the most heterogeneous elements.

It may be here observed that the province of Slavonia, in the Austrian dominions, is still styled in official documents the kingdom of Slavonia. It is bounded on the west by Croatia, on the north and east by Hungary, and on the south by Turkey. It is separated from Hungary by the Drave and the Danube, from Turkey by the Save, and has the Illowa on part of the western frontier.

#### THE SLAVONIANS OF AUSTRIA AND TURKEY IN THEIR RELATIONS TO RUSSIA.

In the first place Russia exerts all her efforts to forward the expansion of the Slavonian mind, giving it a national direction in a Russian sense, with a view to future identification, thus attracting the Slavonians of other kingdoms.

Taking into consideration the new border regulations of 1821, and the presence of a Russian diplomatist, the project of a kingdom of Slavonians under the direct or indirect command or influence of the Russian autocrat is already well known. In Bosnia, Bulgaria, &c., Russian emissaries are everywhere in active and unremitting operation, not taking into consideration the outrageous conduct of the czar at the last insurrection after the battle of Alexinge: on one side were the Slavonians secretly excited to revolt; on the other abandoned in the midst of their difficulties, and forced to throw themselves for grace and mercy into the arms of the autocrat.

The Russian project of a great universal Slavonic

kingdom, was in consequence of the death of Alexander I. only postponed, not abandoned. A quicker approach to the execution of these widely extended plans, the feared realization of which would be difficult to erase from the book of futurity, was still too impracticable for the present state of Russian Poland. Russia therefore contents herself, meanwhile, that she is oppressing the Poles and other branches of the Slavonic races, attempting more and more to amalgamate them with her Russian subjects (in which, according to the latest events, she appears only to have succeeded too well); watching step by step the various movements of the Austrian and Ottoman Slavonians, treasuring up the experience thus obtained for future useful application, till, if even perhaps after a century or a still longer period, the time shall have arrived when strengthened by increased resolution, and bringing into operation the tact already acquired, she finds that she can come forward to press her negociations for the attainment of the desired object; for which she at present prepares a net, whose meshes are laid one by one successively and with the utmost caution. Is a part of this net ready? then it will be spread over a small and scarcely observable object, and that only by way of experiment.\* The foundation stones

\* "Who is there that can fancy the great struggle between the North and the South is at an end? Is it not, in its full grandeur, the war of privation against enjoyment, the eternal war of the poor against the rich, that which devours the interior of every empire?"  
—Comte Philip de Segur, *Expedition to Russia*.

of the most important edifices comprehended in this plan, will often be laid (with the usually attending ceremonies) long before the commencement of the superstructures they are intended to support ; so that the completion of the whole will by many begin to be doubted. Russia does not neglect the observance of this ceremony, as it regenerates or rather promotes her religion, from which it is at the first glance perceived, that the Muscovite czar labours not for her, but she for him ; and, to crown all, each of these autocrats declares himself the head of the Church, so that by this means the way stands exclusively open to him, to work upon the superior and inferior Greek clergy of the northern Turco-Slavonic provinces ; and through them on the people, who already hesitate not to assert themselves to be (though perhaps only in an indirect manner) under the magnanimous protection of the emperor of the orthodox.

The great region of Slavonian influence may be thus defined.

At the head of this extended and numerous race stands Russia in possession of her Asiatic, Finnish, and European provinces, ancient Poland, Lesser Russia, the ancient Polish provinces of the Ukraine, Podolia, Volhynia. Next should be mentioned the appropriated provinces of Poland in the possession of Prussia and Austria ; Bohemia, Moravia, and Northern Hungary, extending to Illyria and the provinces of the Danube ; Carinthia, Car-

niola and Dalmatia, under Austrian dominion; Syrbes and Wends who inhabit Lusatia, in the vicinity of Dresden; those on the Military Frontiers, and extending to the Adriatic and along the Turkish Slavonic provinces; and of which the following, bearing directly on our subject, we give from the best authenticated sources, a geographical, political and statistical description, beginning with Bosnia.

Bosnia contains 760 square miles in extent, with a population amounting to nearly a million, of whom 280,000 are Mahomedans; 500,000 (consequently the half) belong to the Greek, and 180,000 to the Catholic Church; 13,000 are Jews, and the remainder belong to various other denominations.

The true Bosnians, 400,000 in number, are Slavonic in origin and language, rude, uncultivated in their manners, repulsive and insolent to strangers, bold, hardy, cruel and rapacious. But although so impetuous in their battles and foray, they nevertheless show themselves peaceable and honest in their domestic and social relations. Industrious, temperate, excellent horsemen, living partly by husbandry, cattle breeding, and caravan commerce; yet, next to war and freebooting, the chase and fishing are their favourite employments. While these (with the exception of a few who are Mussulmans) adhere to the Greek faith, the Croats (200,000 in number) belong to the Greek or Roman churches, and almost universally detest Islamism. Like the other Slavonian races, they

are light made, and a strong, intrepid and industrious people ; yet ignorant, wild, and inclined to every kind of excess. In common with their brethren under the Austrian government, they speak the Illyro-Slavonic language, which has a great similarity to that of Poland ; their ancestors emigrated from Bohemia to these parts in the year 640.

The Mortaks, 150,000 souls of uncertain descent, inhabiting chiefly the Herzogovina and Croatia, are, with the exception of a few Catholics, the greater part of the Greek faith, speaking the Slavonic dialect ; their independent spirit induces them to live principally in villages and scattered hamlets.

The Montenegrins, a people inhabiting the district of Cerna Gora, better known in Europe under the Italian translation of the name, Monte Negro, descendants probably of the Avars, (though it is by no means demonstrated from authentic sources,) are a small, but robust and energetic race, numbering 100,000 souls, inhabiting a rough, wild, but beautiful and mountainous country, bounded by Albania, the sea coast, and Bosnia ; their manners and customs are simple and natural, as those of the neighbouring countries, but withal, they are impetuous, stubborn, rude, and impassible as their own mountain torrents, rugged cliffs, and solitary glens. These belong entirely to the Greek Church ; their bishop dwells in the Austrian village Stanovich. They prize the freedom and inde-



pendence which they had known how to conquer, by repeated and obstinate struggles with the Turks, as their greatest treasure, paying, and that very irregularly, only the trifling tribute to which they engaged themselves with the Porte. Their language is a corrupt dialect of the Slavonic.

The similarity of their manner of living and customs with those of the Biscayans is remarkable ; like the latter, each family lives isolated in his own house, in the midst of his lands : cattle breeding, a little husbandry and the chase, are their principal employments. Their constitution is that of an aristocratic republic, and the government consists of a popular senate, at the head of which stands the Wladika or leader.

It is through the superstitious and unbounded devotion of this people in particular, that Russia carries on her operations in these parts.

One of the most prominent traits in the character of the Montenegrins is excessive zeal for every thing that, according to their notions, must be true, right, and good ; thus actuated, they rose in 1767 in favour of Stefano Piccolo, who gave himself out for the Russian emperor, Peter III. ; and their insurrection and struggle against the Ottoman power in 1797, by which they acquired their present nearly independent form of government, arose from the same source.

Like the Croats, Bosnians, and Mortaks, the Montenegrins never go out unarmed, usually carrying a long barrelled gun, slung behind them, a

pair of pistols, a long knife, and a curved sword in their belt, and a few carry besides these the lance and sling.

The Osmans, who are settled in Bosnia Proper, 100,000 in number, consist of Turkish emigrants, who have arrived at various periods from Albania, Roumelia, and Bulgaria, being mostly servants of government, military persons, rich landed proprietors, &c., forming by far the most intelligent, best educated part of the population of the whole pachalic, but by no means, however, the chief holders or the administrators of power, which is much more to be found in the hands of the rich Bosnian Mussulmans, who, in common with the people generally, possess nearly all the landed property in Turkey, allodial or hereditary; still there are also many Christian landowners and tenants. The former (*i. e.* the Mussulmans) are universally very much attached to the Porte, fearing that in case of the conquest of Bosnia by a Christian power, they might lose their possessions, acquired in former times solely by plundering the Christians. The richest, most respectable, and most powerful families amongst them, form a kind of oligarchy, taking upon themselves the internal administration of the country; consequently the pacha nominated by the sultan can only exercise a very limited power.

Solely on account of this oligarchy and the abuses and oppressions occasioned by it, Bosnia has in more recent times been set in commotion by

repeated tumults and party struggles, which it is true appear at present in some measure appeased, but which must sooner or later occasion a complete transformation of the form of government, and most probably cause the disruption of the province from the Ottoman empire.

Such a development will be so much the more unavoidable, when it is considered that, out of nearly a million inhabitants, little more than a fourth profess the Mahomedan religion, and that scarcely a tenth part are Osmanlis, while the overwhelming majority of the population is of Slavonic descent and belong to the Christian Church: indeed up to the present time the Mortaks, Christian Bosnians, and Croatians, have ever been the most zealous authors and promoters of such insurrections; though stimulated at the bottom by rapacity alone, as is verified by their armed incursions into Austrian Croatia, the Slavonic Military Frontiers, and Dalmatia. Indeed it is apparent from the uncomfortable and oppressive state of their social economy, that in more than one respect, a decisive, thoroughly improved, and rational reformation is needed.

Bosnia was considered by the Greeks as belonging to Scythia. The Romans held it to be an integral part of Pannonia. Since the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, it has been known under its present name. During the barbaric irruptions, it was first overrun by the Goths, then by the Slavonians and incorporated with Servia. Swatopluk

erected it into an independent state; Kresciner united it in 879 to his kingdom of Croatia, to which it continued attached till 1080, when it once more came under Serbian domination. It had its own regent, and was united to Hungary in 1183 by Bela II. At a later period the government was administered by nearly independent bans or stadtholders, one of whom, Twarke, in 1366, even assumed the kingly title. After him six other sovereigns ruled, some absolutely, some tributary to the Turks. The last king fell in battle against Sultan Mohamed II.

Bosnia now became a Turkish province, for the possession of which Mathias Corvinus strove for some time with the Osmanlis, until after the battle of Mohatsch it fell completely into the power of the latter. Piccolomini's occupation of the country was but of short duration, and ten years afterwards its possession was again secured to the Porte by the peace of Carlowitz.

The present Turkish Croatia was conquered at the same period as Bosnia; before that event it formed part of the kingdom of Croatia; subject alternately to Frankish and Bavarian rulers. From 843 to 876 it belonged to Italy, until Muca-mer made it an independent kingdom, which in 994 acknowledged the supreme authority of the Greek emperor; it was in 1114 conquered by the Venetians; three years after this again lost; in 1168 subjugated by the Greek sceptre, and finally, in 1180, united to Hungary.

From the middle of the fifteenth century, Croatia was often attacked by the Turks, piecemeal conquered by Hungary, and at the close of the seventeenth century was in part given up to the former power. The Herzogovina, belonging in early times to Croatia, was in 1362 attached to Bosnia; then again torn from it by the Emperor Frederick IV. and formed into the independent dukedom of Sabo. Mahomed II. conquered it at the same time as Bosnia, and since 1699 it has definitively belonged to Turkey.

#### SERBIA.

In that extensive region which the Romans subjugated and ruled by the name of Illyria, to which we have already adverted, situated on the Danube, most remotely north of Greece, is included, with many other provinces, also that of modern Serbia, called by the Romans *Moesia*, though the present Belgrad (*Taurunum*) did not belong thereto, but to Lower Pannonia.

The immigration of the Slavonic hordes to this country took place in the seventh century, as we have already mentioned in our general view of the progress of the Slavonian people, and by one of these (the Servians or Serbians, a branch of the Sarmatians, who, according to some authorities, at one time inhabited Macedonia), the original inhabitants of the country, the Illyrians, were expelled and their land taken possession of, which afterwards, Bosnia included, received the name of

Serbia. These people appear to have given themselves the denomination of *Sirbs*.

The history of the Serbians for some centuries from this time presents a series of desolating wars. The Franks and the Bulgarians successively subdued them ; and the kings of the latter race became so powerful, that one of them, named Krum, besieged in 814 the capital of the Eastern emperors ; but the Serbians contrived to throw off the Bulgarian yoke in 924.

The Byzantine emperors regarded with jealousy the growing power of the Serbians ; and the Emperor Basil, called the Destroyer of the Bulgarians, reduced the former also to submission ; but they regained their independence so far that they were afterwards governed by their own princes (Shupans—Zupaw), though indeed under the supreme domination of the Greek emperors. In 1150 they strove under the Shupan Ischudomil (having confederated for this object with the Hungarians) to make themselves entirely independent of the Greek emperor Manuel Comnenus, but in vain, for they were beaten, and Ischudomil was taken prisoner ; and it was only at the price of his renewed submission, that he obtained his freedom ; and his subsequently repeated attempts, for the same object, had the like ill fortune. The Serbians were in 1193 beaten on the banks of the Morawa by the then reigning emperor Isaac Angelus ; nevertheless the Shupan Stefan, when his subjection was completed, received the distinguished title



of Despot. His successor Stefan was expelled by the Hungarians, and his brother Walkan in 1208 reigned in his place as king of Serbia; still however under the domination of Hungary. Meanwhile Serbia had changed its form. This country had already in the ninth century been divided by Brudinur, the Christian prince of Serbia, into different parts; one of these was Bosnia, which he permitted to be governed by bans or stadtholders, who in the end made themselves independent.

The southern part was called Raschial or Rasc, from the river Raska. The inhabitants of these parts, professing the Greek faith, were therefore known under the name of Raiz, which surname was also added to that of the Illyrians, who emigrated from the Turkish provinces into Hungary and Siebenbergen.

As the Byzantine empire fell more and more into decay, the Serbians had from this quarter little to fear, but nevertheless so much the more from the Hungarians, who had Bosnia and an adjacent part of Serbia under their power. Indeed afterwards Milatin Urosch, king of Serbia, was obliged in the beginning of the fourteenth century to give up another part of Serbia to Charles I., king of Hungary.

The Hungarians, having other wars to carry on, were prevented from attending so closely to the affairs of Servia. King Stefan Duschan, in 1336, carried on a successful war against the Eastern empire, and thereby acquired some neighbouring

provinces. He assumed the title of emperor, and divided his Serbian states into stadtholderships ; but by these means he planted the germs of the future ruin of his empire ; for these governors, after Duschan's death, being entrusted with regal power, assassinated the young prince Urosch, his son and successor, from jealousy of his supreme authority, and the dissolution of the empire was the result. Duschan's dominions extended from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, and the provinces of Bulgaria, Macedonia, Albania, Transylvania, Slavonia and Dalmatia, were reduced under his rule. Two acts of this sovereign deserve to be mentioned :—he published a code of laws, and erected the Serbian Church into a metropolitan see, and thus withdrew that Church from the spiritual jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople. His power, it need hardly be stated, was regarded with apprehension by the Byzantine emperors, and the enmity which continued to exist between the Greek and Serbian nations at length brought a scourge into Europe, by which both empires were destined ultimately to be destroyed.

Under his successor, Lazar, the Hungarians in 1374, had greatly reduced the Serbians, and at this juncture the Turks, invited by the Byzantine emperor, appeared for the first time in Europe. The Serbian empire was then divided between three sovereigns,—two of these perished at the battle of Tavaros, gained by the Turks, chiefly through the defection of Lazar, the third king,

and who then assumed the title of emperor. Afterwards, however, under Sultan Murad, the Serbians were signally defeated on the 15th July, 1389, on the plain of Kossova. Lazar was taken prisoner, and put to death in the tent of the conqueror, who also, himself, fell under the dagger of the Serbian, Milosch Kobilitschk. Henceforth, the power of the Serbian empire was destroyed.

Under Bajazed, the successor of Murad, Serbia was divided between Lazar's son, Stefan, and the latter's son-in-law, Wick Brankowitsch ; each of whom, however, had to bind himself to pay tribute, and to furnish troops.

The Serbians were never again able to throw off the Ottoman yoke ; all subsequent attempts involved their country in still greater disasters, which moreover was almost always the chief battle-field between Hungary and the Porte. At last, after the battle of Amselfelde in 1447, in which Hunyades was beaten by Murad II., Serbia was completely subjugated by the Turks, and by them henceforth considered a conquered province, and treated accordingly.

Only the meanest of the inhabitants, like the Jews of old, were suffered to remain, the oldest and noblest families were exterminated, or were forced to degrade themselves by plebeian intermarriages, so that, at last, the entire people sank into the deepest misery, as must be the case with any people under a despotic government. It is true, indeed, that by Engene's noble deeds, Austria

Austria obtained, at the peace of Passarowitz in 1718, the greatest part of the north of Serbia, with the capital (Belgrad,) as far as their river Timoh and the mountains of Buguktasheh. But these acquisitions were again unfortunately lost by her to Turkey, at the peace of 1739, so disadvantageous to Austria.

The severity of the pacha, coupled as it was with so much cruelty, together with the boundless insolence of the Janissaries, at length produced, in 1801, the revolt, for which it may be said, that Ottoman despotism itself had for centuries been gradually laying the train and preparing the explosion.

George Petrowitsch, known under the name of Czerny George, placed himself at the head of the Serbians, and for eleven years carried on the war for the independence of his native land with the utmost vigour. After leaving the Austrian service, Czerny George had taken up his abode on his estate, in the village of Rainemika, in the Beglirbeg of Belgrad. In the month of August, 1801, the revolted Janissaries forcibly entered and plundered this village, and also attacked the dwelling of Czerny George, who lived in considerable opulence. Alone he defended his house and property, killed many of his murderous assailants, and at last took refuge in a neighbouring forest, whither he was soon followed by many of his discontented fellow-countrymen, and by them elected their leader.

As soon as these were in one way or other provided with arms, and sheltered by the woods, they at first limited their operations to unimportant attacks, by cutting off separate detachments of Janissaries ; but their courage as well as their numbers increased daily, in consequence of the success which attended these enterprises ; their strength being sufficiently exaggerated by the reports spread abroad. To this may be added the continual jealousies and private feuds of the Turkish pachas amongst themselves, whereby the Serbians were secretly favoured, or, at least, not impeded in this war of independence.

Russia also came secretly to their help with arms and subsidies. After taking different palankas (small forts surrounded by a very deep ditch and high palisades,—very common in Serbia and Bosnia) by sudden attacks, they became gradually bolder, and at last appeared before Schabacz and Belgrad, into which the Turkish troops had fled : Czerny George having for his security at length taken up a strong position near Semendria, he sent deputies to Constantinople to complain of the excesses of the Janissaries and of the conduct of the Turkish commander, who had murdered the pacha of Belgrad, and disregarded the orders of the sultan himself ; to represent also that the Serbians had only taken up arms for their own security, without desiring on this account to throw off the Turkish authority.

An imperial firman approved of this conduct in the Serbians, and even promised an immunity of

nine years from payment of tribute. This circumstance was very favourable to their cause ; under pretext of contending for the Porte, against its disobedient stadtholder, they so increased their numbers, that their forces soon amounted to 30,000 men.

Every order of the Ottoman government, meanwhile, was rather an effect of its weakness than a sign of power. Great tumults had broken out at various points of the empire. The Serbians now went farther in their demands, desiring that Serbia, like Moldavia and Wallachia, should be raised to a principality, under the government of a Greek hospodar.

The demand was however refused, and now began the real struggle for independence with the Porte. Czerny George, at the head of a numerous and enthusiastic force, took at the close of 1804, the city and fortress of Schabacz, and held Belgrad in close siege. The Serbians were for some time delayed by fruitless negotiations ; afterwards, however, in the year 1806, the Turks attempting to penetrate Serbia at various points simultaneously, the Serbians opposed them with three armies, 40,000 strong, and beat them both on the Dwina and Morawa, but suffered so much themselves as to be obliged to raise the siege of Schabacz and Belgrad.

Russia having now declared herself for the Serbians, advanced her troops into Moldavia for their support, and, in conformity with the established



policy of that cabinet provided the Serbians with every description of warlike stores, especially with heavy artillery for sieges and engineers.

Czerny George now (at the end of 1806) took the fortress of Belgrad, afterwards that of Schabacz and Nissa. The war now assumed quite another character. The Serbians, although under Russian auspices, now masters of their own country, had an army of 80,000 men ready for battle, and being joined by a Russian army in the middle of 1807, they occasioned the Turks a still greater terror by continually repeated victories. At last reduced to the greatest extremities, the Turks proposed an armistice, which was concluded on the 8th July, 1808, at Slobosje.

Czerny George, assisted by the heads of the nation in council assembled, now prescribed the form of Serbia's constitution, under Russian protection. Already elected by the people as chief, he was now prince of Serbia; in this character he was acknowledged by the Russian czar, and appointed by him a lieutenant-general in the Russian army, with decorations of Russian orders. The assembly of the Serbian representatives, first entitled the synod, and then the senate, removed its sittings to Belgrad, and there continued their labours in the formation of their country's constitution.

In the war of 1809, between Russia and Turkey, Czerny George, at the head of his Serbians, most actively supported the Russian arms, but the French

invasion occasioned an unexpected and speedy termination of this war, by the treaty of Bucharest, declared 28th May, 1812, which, as regards Serbia, stipulated,—that the Porte shall exercise mildness and generosity towards the Serbians, as a people long subject and tributary to it, and on this account a full amnesty shall be given ; that the fortresses erected by the Serbians in their own country during their struggle shall be razed, but that the others shall be delivered to the Porte ; that the internal administration of the country shall be left to the Serbians, and the taxes imposed by the Sultan shall be collected in common ; and that the Serbians shall be placed upon the same footing in the Archipelago, &c., as Turkish subjects.

This was all which the almost treacherous conduct of Russia enabled the Serbian deputies to obtain for their country by this disastrous peace ; which indeed served to make in general the worst impression on the Serbians ; for on the Russian general proposing, as the conditions of Russia's further support of the Serbians, that there should be a general surrender of all the fortresses and defences of the country to the czar's troops, and that those capable of bearing arms should place themselves under Russian command, it was manifested in their declining this offer,—pretty explicitly declared,—how much the Serbians felt their hopes disappointed. At the end of July, 1812, Russia withdrew her protection from Serbia, followed by several of the Serbian chiefs most devoted to her interests.

The Serbians were now left entirely to their own defence ; they attempted indeed to obtain something by negotiations at Constantinople, and by representations to Austria, but all in vain. Czerny George could not long continue the war, and he at length gave up the struggle, after his last stronghold, the fortress of Negotin, had been reduced by the enemy. The Turks soon crossed the Morawa, and Czerny George, with most of his compatriots, sought safety in exile. Those that remained were subjected to the Turkish decapitation system, after having been first treated with all possible cruelty, until at last, under Milosch, who afterwards organized a successful insurrection, they became rather protégés than subjects of the Porte, being allowed to retain their arms and share the government of the country with the Turks. The attempts subsequently made by Czerny George, from unknown motives, to excite the country to take up arms, cost him his life, as he was by order of Milosch, who was now acknowledged by the Porte as chief of the Serbian people, murdered by his own countrymen ; an event over which hangs an impenetrable veil of mystery.

In the negotiations which were carried on at Constantinople till 1820, it was then settled that the country should be governed by a senate, to consist of Milosch, elected as prince in 1817, and by four Serbian deputies, having their sessions at Semendria, the residence of Milosch ; further the Serbians to have their own judges and kaia, a

Greek bishop from Constantinople, and a constant agent at the Porte ; and that they shall pay only the karatch, or a ducat, for each male head of a family, for the others one piastre ; that no Serbian shall domiciliate in Turkey, nor Turk in Serbia ; Belgrad and the Turkish fortresses to have Turkish garrisons ; in case of the Porte being at war with a foreign power, Serbia shall furnish 12,000 men ; the orders of the Turkish vizier residing at Belgrad shall be obeyed.

In 1825 Milosch suppressed a revolt, occasioned by his own severity, and for his cruel rigour was rewarded with the title of Hospodar. In 1826 he frustrated a conspiracy directed against himself, and in the war of 1828-1829 he observed the strictest neutrality. At the peace of Adrianople, September 14th, 1829, Serbia had restored to her six districts formerly belonging to her, and her relations with Turkey were once more regulated. For the publication of the firman, Milosch called together at his residence in Cragujewatz, on February 4th, 1830, one thousand national deputies, and appointed a commission under his own presidency, and the guidance of Wuck Stefanowitch, for the purpose of drawing up a form of constitution for Serbia.

The Serbians could now erect belfries, have bells, and also freely elect their ruler. After Milosch had given explanations regarding his past administration, he abdicated his office in this assembly, but was with universal enthusiasm proclaimed as Ser-

bia's hereditary prince (and the Porte was requested to ratify the same), and an address of thanks was also transmitted to the emperor of Russia as protector of the Serbian nation.

But Milosch, a man of great resolution and character, though entertaining very despotic ideas, and exercising authority arbitrarily, and in an irresponsible spirit, was disturbed in the course of his reign by repeated but ineffectual attempts on the part of his subjects to wrest the government out of his hands. The conspiracy of 1835 assumed the most dangerous character, and was with difficulty repressed. Until the year 1839 things continuing in a state of feverish and restless discontent, burst out at last by the nobles imposing a constitution, to which Milosch refusing to submit, they compelled a voluntary but only apparent abdication. The death of his eldest son and successor following close on this event, the government devolved on his second, Michael, whose youth and inexperience in government led him into various excesses of cruelty, tyranny and debauchery. The country rose against him; and the two distinguished men, Wuchich and Petronievitch, who had been appointed by the Porte to assist the young prince in the affairs of government, alone were able to control the general disaffection; their talents and popularity were worthy of a sceptre, which either of them could have commanded, but their noble love of country and disinterestedness, not surpassed by the brightest characters of ancient or modern history, in-

duced them to resist the dangerous temptation : they were content to stand manfully in the breach, and save their country and Europe from a most serious dilemma ; and by their example, influence and persuasion, manifesting a singleness of purpose and patriotism, preserved the liberties and constitution of their country, and with these the peace of the world.

This country is especially the object of the most intense interest to Russia, whose great and immediate exertions and efforts are necessarily directed to the ultimate possession of the fortress of Belgrad, as a decisive first movement on Europe, and as a base for future operations.

In the autumn of 1842, a counter-revolution, favoured and instigated by Austria, and then of a sudden unaccountably and violently opposed and threatened with all her power, but sanctioned by Turkey, dethroned prince Michael, and set up in his stead prince Alexander Georgowitch, a young man much beloved by the people, amiable and conciliating in his disposition, and with a capacity for government.

Austria, aware of this movement going on, as above stated, in Serbia, against the authority of the reigning prince, whose despotic ideas and subserviency to Russian interests were alarming and notorious, discouraged it indirectly, although she fomented it in the first instance by means of her secret agents, and endeavoured to arrest the progress of a most successful insurrection, which she



herself was the first to set in motion, by which Milosch lost his throne.

All this was done in direct opposition to Austrian interests and to the Sultan, and to avoid even the appearance of Austrian collision, as well as to prevent remonstrance, and not give the least suspicion or offence to Russia, Baron Sturmer, the Austrian minister, received secret instructions to withdraw from Constantinople.

Russia, although taken by surprise, and now, in opposition to her interests and direct contradiction to her first policy, warmly supported by Austria, but deservedly foiled by the energy and determination displayed on the part of the Porte and the Serbians at her own weapons of intrigue, drew up a most violent remonstrance, forwarding it to Vienna and Constantinople. Prince Metternich replied abjectly, manifesting a disgraceful and improper subserviency to Russian interests; and further, called on the Allied Powers to give their negative at her dictum and fiat to the popular choice of Serbia, guaranteed by the Sultan by right, consideration and power, and which the vital importance of the case most especially warranted.

Russia has long held a most dictatorial language to Austria; threatening, sometimes by secret intrigue, and at others by open violence, the allegiance of her contiguous Slavonic provinces of the Danube. Serbia is the chosen pivot of action for Russian diplomacy. Possession of the fortress of

Belgrad, as already stated, is Russia's aim, regarding invasion or interference with her influence there with the most intense anxiety. Once in possession, resistance on the part of Austria would be paralysed, Hungary overawed, and the whole course of her great stream to the Black Sea commanded. To such a state of things of immediate danger to Austria, and her independent political existence, she must, and ought naturally, to be most sensibly alive ; but she is not.

Russia, having completely annihilated all opposition from Austria, undismayed at the combined and steady resistance of Turkey and Serbia, and not to be driven from the position she has usurped in those countries, having England under her thumb, threatens Austria (to prevent her vacillation and keep her steady to her purposes) and Turkey ; issuing her imperial mandates to the courts of Europe, for an immediate restitution of the old order of things in Serbia.

The result of negotiations arising out of this Serbian affair will illustrate, in a great measure, the position we have endeavoured throughout this work to maintain ;—namely, the action of Russian policy on Europe, and “the principle” involved in that action, by which she regulates all her movements, and what assistance or counteraction by its innate strength, actually exists in the opposing elements of European liberty. It will further illustrate the isolation of France in 1840, and from whence that isolation sprang. European liberty,

involved in this question of a people's choice, surely ought not to be considered less worthy of the efforts of a free country to maintain and assert. A principle of which they profess to be so jealous and sensitive, will scarcely be excused by distance. To support a tyrant in Egypt, threw France into convulsions. Nevertheless, the cries of freedom in Poland and Serbia may fall dead on the ears of ambitious jacobinism.

But England should, heart and soul, come to the aid of Austria and Turkey ; and this ought to be the resting-point and basis of her policy—to strengthen Austria, animate her to self-defence, and not depress her energies, but rather rouse her into action ; to join cordially with France, on the same principles, and not be bamboozled and cajoled by Russian diplomacy, in the interests of tyranny and usurpation. It involves a vital question for France also ; because by not supporting Austria, and the choice of the people in Serbia, Russia is fighting against the principle involved in her position of 1830. By so doing she must eventually enlist the northern powers on her side, and ally Europe against France, taking up the war of 1815 where it ended ; all this being merely preparatory to such a combination, and the natural result of a like policy, awaiting only a proper time for its development. She fought at Navarino to establish usurpation and popular election, at war with their legitimate Sovereign ; she crushes the same influence, when acting in aid of the power and authority

of the Sultan. The most dignified answer, in the interests of European society, and the freedom of the world, to return, would be to correct or rather reject the assumed and forced position of Austria; urge and press it on in favour of Prince Alexander, under altered circumstances and a corrected and sounder policy; concentrate an Austrian corps d'armée on the Danube; the French and English fleets anchoring under the walls of the seraglio; Belgrad watched, if not invested; the projects of Catherine on the East would by such means be blown to the winds, and peace most effectually secured. Justice and expediency are on the side of such a policy; setting aside the more modern authorities and precedents for such a step;—Austrian intervention in the Papal states; French Ancona invasion, and temporary possession; Russian invasion of Turkey in 1828; the occupation and intervention of the northern powers in Cracow; English and French interference in Spain.

This, to reflecting politicians, most extraordinary solution of the Serbian question, must be sought first in the conduct of Austria, and the fears with which she regarded any appeal to an enthusiastic Slavonic population devoted to the Czar, and for whom they offer up a daily prayer, added to that of France, and her unceasing, secret, and insidious offers to the Russian czar. The “*Debats*” calls it a “geographical” question. M. Guizot excuses it, like the Premier, on the score of distance,—the one from policy, the other from ignorance. The

events of Moldavia and Wallachia, Prince Ghika's transaction, passed over without attracting European notice, although equally important: the theatre was small, distant, insignificant and provincial; the people were barbarous and Turkish-ridden; the country was barren and unproductive. It is well known that France very politely acceded to the nomination of General Kissilief in the service of Russia. True, it was only "geographical" and "distant;" it was geographically useful to Russia, and very convenient in point of distance; but to Austria and the policy of Europe, in the interests of peace and an equilibrium of power, the assertion of the principle of non-interference was essentially a vital one.

The Serbian question called forth the immediate display of Russian power, for weighty reasons above given, which Austria, before she recoiled from her first position, and Turkey throughout with consistency, endeavoured to oppose, but could not carry out, by reason of the vacillation of France, and apathy and indifference of English statesmen. The Wallachian and Moldavian questions did not so immediately interest Europe as the question of Serbia; they were passed over. Serbia has, alas! been ceded; next comes Constantinople or Vienna. Circumstances then may induce the czar to take advantage of French jacobin or royal barrier offers, to compel obedience to his interference; and Austria, trusting to the support of M. Guizot and Lord Aberdeen, may find herself threatened by a

Russian army on the Danube, and a French on the Rhine; English indifference aiding and abetting the triumph of Russian diplomacy and despotism, and thus enabling northern barbarism to ride triumphant over subjugated and civilized Europe. The ambitious policy of France, inspired by her unextinguishable animosities against England, is ever active; and Russia, although rejecting her immediate and proffered aid, regulates her diplomacy by it; either to hurl her at resisting Europe, or the conservative governments at her, as the occasion may call forth.

Finally, in 1843, Russia supporting her diplomatic dictation, by the judicious concentration of a military force on the most significant points, compelled Europe to yield compliance, and to acquiesce in her usurped arbitration. Not choosing to force a premature movement on the part of the Serbians, she adopts the French principle, “*Reculer pour mieux sauter*,” and acknowledges the validity of the re-election, as the best means of exposing the weakness of the Sultan and his allies, by holding him up to public contempt. She has exiled the two influential Servian ministers, Wuchich and Petronievitch, from their country, substituting her own ambassador, Baron Lieven, as her hoodwinked viceroy and abettor, aided by some incapable English tyros of Russianism, under the name and balloon dignity of consul,—until the bowl, dagger, pistol, or sedition, shall have accomplished the rest.



All accounts agree in speaking of the energy and determination manifested by Sir Stratford Canning, throughout the critical negotiations; the disappointment and vexation at their results, on being compelled to carry out the Russianism of his superior. Such firmness ought to be at the Foreign Office. When shall we have such a man there? When will this battledoor and shuttlecock policy of our Foreign Office, past and present, give way to a policy worthy and characteristic of the Queen of the ocean, and the greatest empire of the world.

Is England then so badly informed? Is she so blind as not to be aware of the pretensions and energy of Russia in those countries? Will this late and still existing Serbian transaction not open her eyes? What right has this power to hold the language she does to Austria and Turkey? Have England, France, and Europe acknowledged her exclusive right of possession or intervention in those countries? What are our representatives about? Metternich had, it is well known, made an effort; a tardy feeling of the degradation of his country had been aroused in his breast, and he had a right to expect, and more than expect, to obtain active support from England. Is it to be tolerated that Russia shall thus authoritatively interfere and demand the expulsion of the choice of the people and the favoured of Austria? This is very startling, and would, under ordinary circumstances, have been too bad. Do the people of England know

that the actual decision of peace or war is in fact with this power, and that we are only waiting her time. The mischief of her is, that her position renders her dangerous, without the power of retaliating punishment. She is so by her influences, and she is dangerous as brigands are,—by distance and intimidation, the strength and unapproachable character of their fastnesses. She is tyrant in principle, tyrant in thought, and tyrant in act. The hackneyed but expressive term characterizes all that is most odious in its comprehensive denomination.

The Premier, whose capacious and comprehensive mind, great and unrivalled talents in the internal administration of the affairs of his country, are as undisputed as his misconception of her external relations is remarkable, in reply to Mr. D'Israeli,\* states, that Serbia is far off. Very true; it is so. Constantinople is farther; India and China are still more so. He might as well have replied, that England is an island, and that her policy ought only to partake of that characteristic insularity. Why interfere with France on the Rhine, leaving Russia full play on the Danube? Is the question of no consequence in whose possession Belgrad is? Perhaps he does not know its real consequence, but Russia does: she has shown by her restlessness, and decision of action, its vital importance to her future movements in those

\* See "*The Times*" of Tuesday, 25th April, and an excellent article on the subject.

countries. She will only abstain from direct interference, so long as a creature of her own, or one who does not act in contradiction to her policy, occupies the throne of those countries. We have at Constantinople a representative worthy of England; but he at St. Petersburg is not the active, stirring man of Lisbon, in the days of 1808. Serbia is far off. The march of a Russo-Asiatic army to India may be excused on the same principle, till the sound of their cannon and the twang of the Affghan matchlock are heard on the shores of the Indus. Why, surely, the greater the distance, the more force the right honourable Baronet's rejoinder to Mr. D'Israeli receives "by distance made more sweet."

Never was a moment more propitious for a vigorous and decided blow. Never will occur again so favourable an occasion for correcting the errors of the past. But we want a great comprehensive mind, at the head and front of offending,—the Foreign Office of England. The late and present foreign ministers belong to times gone by. We need something more than elegant and accomplished gentlemen and classical scholars. The time demands active men of originality, and intelligence,—men, independent in spirit and action,—men, who, discarding all blind superstition in Holy Allianceism and self-conceit, stamp our relations with foreign nations with the dignity, firmness and decision of the national character.

The "*Constitutionnel*" contained the following

remarks on the Serbian question, which are worthy of observation :—

“ Depuis longtemps, dit l’une d’elles, la diplomatie n’était si vivement émue que maintenant. C’est que depuis longtemps aussi elle n’avait un sujet aussi grave de s’émouvoir. La question de Serbie intéresse l’Europe entière. C’est dans cette question surtout que l’élément destructeur de la Turquie s’est montré avec tout son énergie, et sa volonté immuable en présence de l’élément conservateur faible, hésitant, irrésolu.

“ La conduite de l’Autriche est inexplicable ; contre ses précédens et ses intérêts elle se prononce en faveur de la Russie, elle recule devant l’attitude menaçante de cette puissance.

“ Il paraît que le chargé d’affaires d’Autriche, après avoir donné communication au Divan de ses instructions, s’est rendu chez Sir S. Canning pour l’informer de la teneur de ses dépêches qu’il venait de recevoir, et de la démarche qu’il venait de faire auprès du Divan pour l’engager à céder.

“ Cette communication fut un coup de foudre pour le représentant Britannique, qui dans son accès de mauvaise humeur et d’emportement, frappant sur un table qui se trouvait près de lui, il renversa plusieurs pots de fleurs qui se trouvaient dessus. (Historique.) Un courrier extraordinaire a été expédié a trois heures du matin à Londres par l’Ambassadeur Britannique ; mais la partie est perdue ; la Russie peut considérer son triomphe comme assuré ; tous les efforts sont vains ; mainte-

nant la Porte sera forcée, quoique jusqu'ici elle n'a rien dit encore qui puisse autoriser de le croire.

“ Notre correspondant particulier à Constantinople confirme les détails qui précèdent et les complète par ce qui suit.

“ Après avoir remis au Divan l'ultimatum de l'Empéreur Nicolas, M. De Boustenief a ajouté — assure-t'on qu'une armée de 60,000 hommes était prête.

“ L'Empéreur n'accorde au Divan qu'un délai de quinze jours pour ce prononcer. Ce qui rend la résistance impossible c'est qu'un courrier du cabinet est arrivé ces jours derniers au chargé d'affaires d'Autriche, avec des instructions du Prince de Metternich, qui ont été communiquées aussitôt au ministre des affaires étrangères par M. Keyt.

Le cabinet Autrichien, qui a pris une part active à la révolution de Serbie, au commencement de la question s'était prononcé pour la Porte, engage maintenant le gouvernement Turc au droit de la Russie.

“ Quant au gouvernemens Français et Anglais, ils ne paraissent pas avoir mieux conçus la gravité de la question et les intérêts vitaux qui s'y rattachent, ou bien ils ont réculé devant les dangers d'une attitude franche et énergique.

“ Après avoir poussé sous main la Porte à la résistance, après l'avoir convaincue de son droit et reconnu le Prince actuel de Serbie, ils faiblissent devant les menaces de la Russie, et font jouer ici

un rôle effroyable à leurs représentans, qui en se conformant aux instructions de leur cabinet, agissent contre les convictions de leurs tendances personnelles. Ces évènements ont une grande analogie avec ceux de Navarin.

“ L’influence de l’Angleterre et la France est annulée pour longtemps, peut être pour toujours, dans ces contrées, la Russie fera la loi et jouera les autres puissances comme elle voudra. Nous verrons jusqu’où peut aller la longanimité de nôtre gouvernement et combien de temps en aura la faiblesse d’admirer ce système déplorable de la paix à tout prix, dont la Russie sait profiter si habilement.

“ P.S. Nous venons d’apprendre d’une manière que la Russie demande les quatre points suivans :—

“ 1° La déchéance de Prince.

“ 2° Le rappel de Kiamil Pacha.

“ 3° La punition des auteurs de la revolution.

“ 4° Une nouvelle election d’après l’acte constitutif.

“ La Serbie fait, comme on sait, partie du traite d’Akerom.”

Well may the enlightened hopes and aspirations of constitutional liberty weep over England, muffled up in a cloak of Holy Alliance despotism, forging chains for freedom heated at the furnace of Russian tyranny.

Nicholas’s promises and professions to the existing governments and their trembling aristocracies may or may not be sincere. We believe they are,



as far as the individual goes ; for a finer, nobler, or more honourable and gallant soldier—but, alas ! more iron-hearted despot—does not breathe. But Nicholas cannot oppose himself to the policy of his country ; he cannot check the ardour and impatience of the stirring and restless powers of the church, people and army. Besides he is not on the best terms with his nobility, combined as they are and their thoughts concentrated on the possession of Constantinople, daily gaining force and impatient for action, and from whom a most fearful reaction may arise, in the event of his resistance, involving with it a question of personality, if not of dynasty.

The future, alas ! is black and dreary enough with such prospects. Ye demons of despotism and Jacobinism, for what have ye not to answer !—imperial and republican France—despotic and ambitious Russia—benighted and Roman Catholic Europe !

#### REACTION OF THE MAGYAR ELEMENT AGAINST THE HUNGARIAN SLAVONIANS.

The Magyars, although the minority in Hungary, appear determined, even with fire and sword, should it become necessary, to assimilate these tribes to themselves, by making them essentially Hungarian, and their own language that of the nation.

The war of the journals has been acting on this subject, and the efforts of the peremptory, barbaric

line of the Magyars, to compel the Slavonians residing in that country to adopt their dialect, is notorious.

The Slavonians, on the other hand, with great determination, resist all attempts of the above tendency, which only serve to unite them more firmly to each other ; and the probable result will be the furthering of the secret projects of the oppressed nation, forming them by the force of circumstances, under Northern influences, into a separate state.

The efforts of the Magyars so far is praiseworthy as a Russian influence, which is most essentially forwarded by the attempt of the Austrian Slavonians to assimilate their language to that of Russia ; and in spite of the vicinity of Poland, and the recollection of Russian sympathies for that country, displayed as they were with unsparing violence, in which despotic severity shone out in all its most hideous colours, Russian influence increases to a most remarkable degree.

Austria, aware of the side from which danger may arise, has been silently adopting measures to counteract the progress of the Slaval population ; she has, amongst other means, established the Hungarian language as the standard of the country, her laws, &c., being written in that dialect.

The Slavonians of Austria in Hungary may be relatively said to bear the same analogy to her as Ireland does to England. Discontent exists, and partly from the same causes of early oppression

and misgovernment ; and Austria, proverbially slow, will take a longer period to remove them than what England has done in respect to Ireland. They have also, in common, recourse to the same energetic mode of exciting attention to their grievances, by a reference to the torch and the dagger. Burnings and maraudings are put into requisition, whenever the necessity of the case should demand it. The Hungarians look down upon them with contempt and defiance, and they will eagerly avail themselves of any occasion that may present itself, of paying back to their oppressors the contempt which they have heaped on them.

The object of the government of Austria, (Leopold's idea,) was to Germanize both ; but that plan failed, and only served to disgust both parties. They, the Slavonians, have hitherto looked up to the government of Vienna as their protectors ; but latterly, the current of events, a combination of circumstances, have forced them to turn their attention to a power beyond the Carpathian mountains.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that, however the Muscovite tyranny may be detested, however visible and immediate are its effects in a neighbouring country, yet still the name of Russia inspires no dread ; on the contrary, nowhere is she more looked up to,—more feared,—is more courted than by these enthusiastic and extraordinary people. In those countries the idea of freedom is

merely that of freeing themselves from any present inconveniences, and shifting the yoke from one master to another. There is a deep-rooted sentiment of loyalty, which, when a change does take place, it will not be individual contests for personal pre-eminence, but that of masses transferring themselves spontaneously to the new dominion that they may choose to impose on themselves.

The Hungarians are chiefly the great landed proprietors of those countries, and they are too few in number to cope with the people on any serious rising or expression of opinion. As in Poland, so in all those neighbouring countries, there are but two conditions, viz., noble and serf: there being no connecting link in the chain of society, or what is called a middling class—which class is of so much importance in England and constitutional countries. It is the want of that which rendered the result of the Polish revolution so fatal to its promoters, and brought it again under the merciless yoke of the czar; it having in fact no root in the affections of the people.

The fact of Hungary possessing a constitution renders the question interesting. This nation will probably be the theatre of future great events, and upon it Austria keeps a most watchful eye. Hungary claims to be a country quite independent of Austria—asks nothing of Austria as a state; but since the emperor of Austria is king of Hungary, many griefs, or grievances as they are called, are made known from the Diet through the Hungarian

Chancery, which must follow the king wherever he should reside, and, legally speaking, ought to be the only channel of communication between the Diet and their king, although the Diet is by no means the representative assembly of the inhabitants of the country ;—there are many nations and many districts of country within its mass, which have nothing whatever to do with the Diet. The Diet is an assembly of prelates, public officers, magistrates or peers, deputies from comitats or counties, and from free towns ; it is the privilege of individuals,—the widow of a magistrate for instance,—to send personal proxies to the Diet. This mixed assembly of persons is connected only with a privileged class in this country ; unless a Slavats or a Wallach is from office, or holding land immediately under the crown, a member of that class, he has nothing to do with the Diet. Germans, Jews, Greeks, Slavats, Ruskans, and many other nations which could be enumerated, unless so qualified, can never raise their voice in it, or make a complaint. They are equally excluded from the congregational or county meetings of each comitat, which forms a much more important branch of the constitution than the Diet. You hear much of the Diet, because the speeches of its members are frequently reported. You hear much of its demands, which are reduced to writing, and appear in the newspapers, but the congregations, of which you hear nothing, send up their remonstrances, and make their demands through the

channel of the Hungarian Chancery. The Diet when it meets, discusses a variety of subjects, and when its resolutions are confirmed by the king, they become laws or decrees, and, when reduced to writing, are entered into the *corpus juris patriæ*, or statutes at large, and form the laws of the kingdom. The Diet itself is divided into two *latiles* or chambers, but they are not so important as the previous meeting of the circles, a meeting unattended by the prelates at the circle. The deputy of each *comitat* has the opportunity of stating the instructions which he has received from his constituency; their complaints are moulded into form, are forwarded to the lower table of the state, from thence to the table of the magistrates, and when agreed upon by both, are signed by the palatine and primates in a general and common assembly, and forwarded to the king for his confirmation. At one Diet there are one set of complaints, at another they may be very different.

Many new and excellent laws were made at the Diet of 1792, when Leopold came to the throne. The king on his part sent his propositions. They are generally applications for money and soldiers, and frequently the old English maxim is pursued of tacking a subsidy to a king's conscience. His propositions are not assented to, unless he confirms the decrees agreed on by the two tables.

At the last Diet there was a long discussion as to the right of freedom of speech at the congregations. A Count Sleady was under prosecution



for something which he had uttered at a congregation meeting of the Comitatus of Pest. The Comitatus immediately elected him their deputy. The personatus, or speaker of the inner table, would not admit a person convicted of a libel to take his seat at the Diet. The personatus would not receive him,—the table would not proceed to business in his absence, and all proceedings were delayed until he resigned, which he did, and thus settled the question. According to the Hungarian Constitution the king ought to convoke a Diet triennially. In Transylvania, where he is only duke, he ought to do so annually; the neglect of which, being always wilful, becomes a cause of complaint. In some respects a Diet resembles our own Parliament, and no session will for the future take place without parties making complaint. That great innovator, time, renders this necessary; and it does not appear that any concession made by the king can act as a bar. No immediate result is perceptible from the discussion in the late Diet; and as far as the future is concerned, political prophecies generally fail, unless they are delivered with Delphic wisdom, so that they may be interpreted subsequently either way. So long as peace continues, so long will matters remain in the present state, with the exception of physical improvements, which are making rapid progress. The suspension-bridge building will be followed by railroads, which will intersect the country, and will all tend to facilitate that ready communication which must prove

useful to mankind: the enlightened opinions of other countries will find their way into the remotest parts of Hungary, and flagrant abuses will be destroyed by universal public opinion rather than by physical force. The common people are, to say the truth, in a great measure brutalized. The nobles are much in debt to the Jews, but this perhaps will in time be attended with the good effect of dividing such immense masses of property as now belong to individuals.

Austria has maintained her supremacy over so many nations by respecting their individual nationalities, but Hungary is in some degree as much separated from the government of Vienna as a foreign kingdom—a line of custom-houses divides them only a few miles from Vienna.

This constitution, or rather a remnant of feudalism so miscalled, might be very beneficially modified, and both parties gainers thereby. But the privileged class is so numerous and so attached to that which makes them so great in their own eyes, that a coup d'état might be attended with dangerous consequences. The opposition is also in part from the haute noblesse, although generally speaking they are all creatures of the court of Vienna, and the government, affecting disinterestedness and taking open part with the oppressed peasantry, might create a servile war, which would only end in their extermination. She is obliged thus to temporise with a less manageable section of the nobility, who see the question in a patriotic national

light, but their number is too small to bring about a change, decidedly beneficial to the country, in accordance with their own liberal views. Time is required to strengthen the power of their nationality, but to this sacrifice they cannot be brought and indeed it is hardly to be expected.

A vigorous emperor, a second Leopold, might by his personal influence do that which would not be tolerated as coming from a weak head and hand ; but of that there is little probability. At the last sitting it was stated that the government had intended dissolving the Diet per force, had they not timidly yielded on the question of the refractory count, and that one night 10,000 men were under arms and only awaiting orders to march in and compel obedience to the government's wishes. The actual power of the nobles is very great, but it was greater ; it is now too great in fact, but they are tenacious of their privileges—a guarantee and security against the wiles and abuses of power of the government of Vienna, on whose promises and professions they look with a jealous eye. Public opinion awes it into a temperate use and prevents its abuse. Some of the most despotic laws, however, are in force and the privileges which are still allowed are of the same nature as those which existed in France before the Revolution. A noble might shoot his serf as a dog, without being called to account ; and we are not sure even now whether that statute has ever been repealed, or whether it does not still exist.

Austria hates discussion of any sort or kind, and these deliberations of the Diet are a great source of disquietude to her, and she avoids and protracts every circumstance which might give occasion to call it together, being a very fruitful field for Austrian disaffection to work in. The Hungarian people are a gallant race, and possess all the qualities requisite to constitute a great nation. Their struggles against the Turks will ever redound to their honour ; for it was they and Poland that saved Europe from Mussulman domination. The Turks were in possession of great part of Hungary for 168 years, and rendered all Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, Serbia, Bosnia, &c., tributary to the Crescent. The Greek Christian Church, adopted as the national form of Russia, has had immense effects upon those countries. That, and the Slaval language, are the powerful means by which Russian policy will find its way westward. It has already separated Modern Greece from Turkey. Moldavia and Wallachia have been detached from Turkey and fallen into her grasp. Neither diplomacy nor arms can arrest its progress. Austrian ministers were ignorant of Turkish weakness, until the Greek insurrection, and the progress of the Russian arms to Varna. Galicia and Hungary supply the Austrian army with men and recruits, but it is not the soldier that will avail them.

When will a statesman rise up, who, imperceptibly to themselves, will concentrate this heteroge-

neous mass of various nations, religions and languages, into one mass, with the national feeling of independence, and prepare them to withstand the overwhelming force of a nation, which otherwise will first overrun this country, and afterwards threaten Europe? It may be said that the whole pressure of the north is on these countries of the Danube. A movement, imperceptible to common observation, but deep and continued, is going on in them, to which these Serbian events have given a fearful impulse, and most dangerous direction. This country of the Huns will again swell with its savage hordes the bands of successful conquest; and, perhaps, a second Attila throw into the shade the first great destroyer of empire.

The outbreak of Russia will probably be as victorious and irresistible as was that of France. That Constantinople will fall to her, there is but little doubt, nor can the conflicting elements of European policy prevent it—or rather they will facilitate its consummation. It is equally clear that she will not be allowed to retain quiet and undisturbed possession, but all resistance on land will be previously paralysed by her consummate address. After the deepest and most mature consideration of the bearings and tendency of the European courts nothing else can be expected. The fear of France and recollection of former disasters, the great destruction of property, and the loss of power and privilege of the aristocracy of the Continent, make them sensitive to the highest degree; and

they rally to a man round the principle which is opposed to the power most likely to disturb and, perhaps, annihilate them. They are ignorant that so many fears and anxieties will bring on their own destruction from another quarter, and that successful conquest will be followed in its train by an assertion of all its rights of spoil and appropriation,—the evils of successful ambition. And the time must come, and, perhaps, too late, when their own spirit will rouse them into action, to escape the badge of servitude, and they will be the first to be sacrificed to the arms of a victorious despot. But, alas! they are shortsighted enough to disregard the warnings of history, and that the first step towards the confirmation of conquest is the degradation and annihilation of an independent aristocracy. It is by their vices that a state is annihilated, as it would be saved by their virtues. It is to their example, apart from all selfish feelings of ambition and policy, that a people will always look for support in their struggles for the well being and safety of a country.

The revolutionary tendency of France is the point upon which it is the policy of Russia to keep the undivided attention of Europe, especially of those governments upon whom she most relies for aid in carrying out her own ambitious projects.

Self-preservation, whether in individuals or in commonwealths, is the first spring of human actions; an appeal to this will always find a ready ear. That all the proper feelings of birth and recollec-



tion of a name delegated to them by their ancestors will have their due effect,—that personal courage, the highest sense of honour and self-denial, exist in the hearts of the aristocracy of the monarchical governments of the Continent, we do not deny ; on the contrary, many we know feel the degradation of their courts most deeply. But, alas ! their institutions have made them a servile, not a controlling element ; and, however fatal and perverse may be the sentiments of the governing power they serve, their situation leaves them nought else but to yield to overwhelming circumstances.

The declared object of every treaty must be the integrity of this falling empire ; its resuscitation and independent existence is too well known to be an impossibility—to be even dreamt of by the enlightened cabinets of Europe. On the ground of its patched up integrity must European policy make a stand. The interests of the different parties are of too discordant a nature, to open by treaty its ports to the commerce of civilized Europe. All that remains is to prop up this tottering rampart of Moslemism against Christian ambition. Its fall has been written in the pages of Sacred history, and must even be obvious to the limited prescience of worldly politicians—fall she will in spite of their policy and crooked diplomacy.

From the siege of Vienna, when the immortal Sobieski appeared, like a guardian angel, with his intrepid bands, and saved Vienna from the grasp of the Turk and cheated him out of his destined

prey—from the walls of a devoted city, the trembling citizens saw the light of salvation on the heights of Kahlenberg, held out to them by Poland's gallant sons. When memory looks back on two centuries, when the sound of the music of the wild Janissaries was heard in the blast, the reflection of the Crescent seen on the waters of the Danube, the tails of relentless pachas floating in the breeze, threatening death and destruction—the Moslems extending in endless lines, and the neighbourhood echoing with the cry of God and the prophet, *Ali ! il ! alla !*—when Christian Europe waited in trembling awe for the result, to bow to the empire of the sword and receive its law—when we reflect, that in the nineteenth century, this terrible destroyer lays trembling at the feet of those powers, who were almost at one moment her slaves—man may say, *How and from whence cometh this great and ominous change ?*

This power has followed her with a perseverance which knows no remission, in whose arms she now lays in all the helplessness of maiden weakness. It is true Russia has called in others to behold the helpless state of the victim, with an appeal to reanimate the suffering patient ; but she lingers on without even the power of making a testament. Where Austria ceased, Russia began. Crimea and Bessarabia acknowledged her power—Moldavia and Wallachia followed. Serbia shook off the chains of Mussulman superiority—Greece was torn from her, till the power of Russia's arms in 1828

shook the whole fabric of empire to its foundation. Where will she at last find a hiding-place—the doomed victim receive the death blow? Russia has never ceased to be the most active agent in this work of decomposition. The rebel and the tyrant invoke her from afar; she readily responds to the cry of both, till, weakened by mutual slaughter and unsuccessful effort in throwing off the yoke of the Turk, they sink, in their exhaustion, into the arms of one who knows better how to make himself obeyed. Austria, aided by noble and gallant Poland, and the warlike ardour of the Hungarians, sent the proud Moslem back within his natural bounds; but will she, Austria herself, be more successful in the hour of danger and distress, in making herself respected by a present friendly and terrible neighbour? Can Austria impose by her power, or can she command alliance to ward off the projects or attempts of the ambition of a great ally? Or has the fatal ulcer, which has raged in the vitals of her Moslem neighbour, began to extend to her own extremities? The answer to these queries is not far from a speedy solution—and Austria's turn may come next. Poland fallen! Turkey falling! and Austria? the neighbour of Russia.

Bringing together the facts we have hitherto stated, we shall find therein four reactions, which in conclusion we shall briefly touch upon.

# A REACTION OF THE SOUTH-WEST SLAVONIANS AGAINST THOSE OF THE EAST.

(LITERARY REACTION.)—This is founded on the struggle between the cultivated languages of Slavonic origin, each of which strives to constitute itself the universal one, at the expense of the others; and these are:—1st. That between the Bohemian and Polish languages, since the sixteenth century, in which the latter excels in sweetness, but the former in richness. 2nd. The Russian and Polish:—the literature of the first is only now beginning to flourish, and the Polish language is cruelly oppressed at home, while in foreign countries it is admired, and in France cultivated. Lastly, the Serbian literature expands itself boldly in the south.

Which language must predominate? The Russian, say competent authorities, is soft and harmonious. The Polish, in many respects, unites the advantages of all. The Bohemian sounds harsh, but it is the richest and the longest cultivated; and it is to be lamented that it suffered so much loss during the religious wars. The Serbian language equals the Polish, though altogether differently developed.

Proceeding with the recapitulation, we come to the second reaction.—(POLITICAL.)—Regarding the extermination of the Slavonic races once inhabiting north Germany, and the interdiction of the old Teutonic language under Albert I., and which calls

to mind the consequences of the Germanisation of Bohemia, together with the co-existent tendency of Austrian policy.

The third reaction (also POLITICAL) is comprised in the re-awakening of the Hungaro-Slavonic nationality, called forth by the forcible impulse of the Slavonic language and manners in Hungary and given by the Magyars their existence as a minority.

Lastly, appears the struggle constituting the fourth reaction, regarding the Russians (and is so far happy as it here alone operates against them), and otherwise bears only on the elucidation of our subject.

We would once more remark that they perfectly misunderstand the struggle of the Slavonic literature in Austria, who see therein the least approach to Russia. This approach manifests itself rather, as we have sufficiently shown, in the commotions of Turkish Slavonia, and even these in consequence of present events may easily experience many modifications.

When one understands the position which Russia maintains under present circumstances, in regard to the rest of the Slavonians; that is, those of Austria and Turkey, (for of Prussia no one can have a thought, because of its containing far less Slavonic elements, and because this power is too far, or too quickly advanced in Germanising them); and could we, by an impossible effort of mind, renounce the conviction of the appearance of a

greater development of Russian power—then all solicitude about Muscovite dominion, at least in Austria, might with the greatest justice be deemed foolish ; yet does not the policy of the czar, in the back grounds, frighten us out of our dreams ? This policy, however, has existed in full vigour ever since the time of Peter the Great, and whenever any one of his successors would in any way deviate from this path, either from his individual free choice, or from coercive impulse, the most feeble attempt of this kind was followed by the loss of his throne.

When it is found expedient in some measure to lay aside this avowed system of open aggrandisement, though still in the cabinet alone, there is not the least cessation of operations : thus it is content to obtain its end by some other means ; like the serpent of the forest lurking in some high tree, and apparently only looking on at the animals passing by, but as soon as it perceives a suitable prey, darts upon it like lightning, without however making too much noise, and thereby scaring the other inhabitants of the woods and fields, who must also (if later, then the more surely) themselves serve its turn.

Does Russia appear to have withdrawn herself into her snow-clad forests ? Still, however, she is at work in the utmost silence by means of her emissaries, in merely observing the state of things in the political horizon, and if any circumstance of a favourable nature presents itself, certainly to ap-



propriate it : and no means whatever are disdained (except those which, by being too openly displayed, would oblige the other powers to look to their safety), thereby drawing into her invisible, but therefore impenetrable net, those of her immediate or more remote neighbours that she may find most convenient or adaptable to her plans.

During these manœuvres, in which the artillery appear only blank loaded, the autocrat is endeavouring on the banks of the Neva, ever more and more, to consolidate the interior of his empire, unmercifully rooting out any concrete presenting itself, which appears to him dangerous to his projects, and altogether impossible to bring into accord therewith, so that the development, according to his sense of the word, may not be arrested. Ever increasingly, and almost each day, he enjoys the pleasure of seeing those roots spread forth into fertility. To crown the whole and to appear a philanthropist in the eyes of other nations, he has already slowly, but so much the more surely, taken the first steps for also meeting the only possible and future danger which may arise from his intractable and proud aristocracy,—as is, in the mind of every intelligent person, the meaning of the most recent ukase.

It is worthy of remark, that the power which Russia's monarch claims the merit of supporting in Europe, viz., the aristocracy, is in his own realms his most deadly enemy,—with whom he is at silent and continual war. His persevering efforts, al-

though repeatedly checked by this inimical class, are directed to diminishing their privileges, extending the liberties of the people, and drawing them closer round his throne and government. Success in the struggle, and it is a desperate one, will ensure him and his sceptre for a time (*preceding an unavoidable revulsion, or reaction*), an influence greater than that possessed by any monarch in Europe. Animated by a sense of gratitude for his efforts in their cause, it will enable him to hurl the force derived from their attachment at the torpid governments of Europe with overpowering and irresistible success. But this vigilant and despotic nobility watch him too closely to enable him to prosecute his plans with the rapidity his impatient spirit desires ; and the phantoms of by-gone Russian despots rise up in warning attitude before his eyes, to remind him of the danger, and force of the power, with which he is contending. The "*vox populi*" in that country, when once roused, would indeed be appalling.

The same spirit is also visible in Russian literature, with this difference, that Peter the Great oppressed the monkish literature, offspring and solitary survivor of dark, remote ages, and replaced it by that of foreign nations, which state of things existed till the most recent times.

But Nicholas I. when he thinks proper, is often pleased to play the part of the patriarch ; here, however, he tried his hand really as a conjuror, though at first only on a small scale, for he gave

to the native literature a direction which cannot fail at a future time to elevate it to be the first and only one amongst the Slavonic race. For even in literature, Russia follows an ever extending prohibitive system, particularly as regards political works and the belles-lettres, in which measures, nearly equivalent to a prohibition, are taken to diminish their importation from foreign countries ; and the cases of admission are so few, that a hermetic seal appears to have been applied to this source.

On the other hand, the native literature finds the utmost support, and to obtain this, it is only necessary to observe the sole condition attached thereto: to labour in the true Russian aristocratic spirit, with which this government, either directly or indirectly, as appears to it best, also works on the re-awakened Slavonic literature of Serbia.

The same attempt, however, if made on the Austrian Slavonians, would be quite fruitless, and the detractors of Austrian Slavonic literature be left groundless in their reasoning ; for here the south Slavonians and those of Bohemia and Moravia follow their own way, and to which last people those in Hungary may attach themselves, should the almost forcible attempt of their Magyarisation fail. The Polish Galizians are not to be thought of ; for the Russian government has laboured in this field, for the destruction of Polish literature in its native land,—in a manner only to be expected from an enemy.

And besides this, the Russian Slavonians have been for so many centuries estranged from their co-nationals, that the wished for consequences of the czar's policy in this respect may at a future day be justified.

In contemplation of this state of things, and true to the system before laid down, this policy, therefore, allows itself in the meanwhile to support the so-called native literature, pre-supposed that it renders itself worthy of this all-powerful protection, in the manner before mentioned.

But even here Nicholas shows himself the father of the Muscovites ; his will constituted the empire also, in this respect, his individual property, which, increasing year by year, bears in itself the effect of absorbing the rest of Slavonia, and this, in cases where such an assimilation should meet with hindrances,

The like circumstances exist in its religious relations. Russia could at no time indeed tolerate those of another creed. At times she has increased her states by taking possession of others, whose inhabitants were not totally deprived of their faith ; and she is furthermore constrained, by absolute necessity, to pay certain regards to foreign emigrants, at least at the commencement. But even here the administration know how, if indeed slowly, so much the more surely, it might at a future day realize its object. The beginning of these means was to consolidate its relations to the national church, and to make her its obedient servant.

Russia laid the foundation stone of this building, in for ever renouncing all former dependence on the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, and instead thereof—the czar's declaring himself the unlimited ruler, even in spiritual matters, and to the utmost extent of the authority of that Church, which was now entitled the Greco-Russian Orthodox Church, and who by this means provided himself, even in a spiritual point of view, with the freest room for operations.

Those of the Russian states, the mass of whose population hold the Protestant or Catholic faith, had indeed the maintenance thereof guaranteed in statu quo. But when a power no longer desires to abide by a compact, especially one in any way superannuated, there are ways and means enough for evading it, should it be only in an indirect manner, and in this art Russia proves her mastership.

The czar, as pope of his own Church, finds in the impulse of his own conscience sufficient license for action, and sees himself under the necessity of giving the most extensive protection to his own confession. Can he not prevent marriages taking place between members of his own Church and those of another? which prevention would be indeed against his object; neither can he tolerate that the offspring of these marriages, in which only one of his Church is concerned, be estranged therefrom.

His thoughts are at the same time his commands; the old proverb, "we can even make our enemies

useful," finds here a noble application. While the pope set and continued the examples, the czar neglected not to avail himself of these lessons, modifying them according to his views; by this manœuvre he must succeed ultimately, if even tardily, in bringing the present heterodox into the right way, and binding them to the Greek-Russian Church.

We have seen in the most recent times, how sure was the calculation he made regarding the more proximate Church of the Greek Catholics; much easier may it so fare with the Protestant Church, which, without a head, stands as an orphan in this country.

He proceeded against Catholicism with the true old Roman perseverance, and sought an excuse for this in the last disturbances in Poland, which he even made a pretext for not allowing the Word of God to be delivered to his Catholic subjects, except through sermons sanctioned by the censorship: examples have shown in what manner ministers who committed the Russian crime, so severely punished, of preaching to their congregations unlicensed sermons, were obliged to atone for it by suspension for a time from their religious offices.

In so far as the state administration is itself concerned, it may with truth be called patriarchal, but it is well known what is here to be understood. A single breath, so to speak, has made the whole and which can be extinguished by a single hand.



When its enormous extent is considered, there is perhaps not a more complicated machine than that of the government of all the Russias, whose wheels are so fully under the control of the supreme director, that even when one ceases to move, or at the time meet with only an apparently objective obstruction, it seems to him needless to examine into the cause, until, according to his calculation, having resumed its favourable evolutions, he can instantly exert full power of direction.

To overcome the subjective obstacles is here an easy task ; and he who once properly comprehends the entire arrangement of this state mechanism, and wishes to put it in motion, can never fail as to what part of it he must touch. So that a false movement by the state is out of the question, for he who holds the main threads of this web in his hands, cannot fail to notice, or rather to feel, even the slightest stretching of it, whether in the middle, at the lower end, or wherever else it takes place.

When one considers the fine sense of political feeling possessed in the higher regions of Russianism, the mechanical movement of government affairs, and the slavishly obedient disposition of the Russian people, scarcely even the smallest doubt can be raised as to the success of whatever undertaking this government has before it, and one is constrained to remark that this administration appears to have adopted, for its motto, the old proverb, "Constancy alone leads to success," or else, "Slow in council, quick in execution," and

thereby no event whatsoever, which may by one means or other be drawn into the secret precincts of her invisible net, can in the smallest degree escape the vigilance of her system.

Whoever once unintentionally gets into this modern Dædalian labyrinth, certainly loses himself so effectually, that he will never find his way out again, or probably exhaust himself in making his last efforts for flight and safety.

Before however this moment arrives, according to political calculation (setting aside fulfilment of prophecy), the sun may perhaps have run more than a thousand times its course and present generations been followed by those of a different origin, and these latter, in their turn, made room for new nations; and the last, once more, replaced by races rising from out of the most distant futurity.

Meanwhile Russia is endeavouring, in the way most agreeable to herself, and with ever-increasing diligence, to organise her interior economy, adroitly understanding how to ward off every danger, from whatever point, or however distant it may come; thus internally consolidated, this power awaits the near approach of that time when she may perhaps, in double numerical force, and strengthened by the gigantic progress meanwhile made in educational, intellectual, agricultural, statistic, strategic, naval, mercantile and manufacturing arts and sciences, in the way peculiar to herself, enter the lists against the rest of Europe, with consciousness of her ability to obtain the victory; subduing every obstacle op-

posed to the accomplishment of her well-known final object.

For the present she contents herself with undermining, and in spying out and availing herself of the weak points occasioned by others ; and when it appears necessary to follow this policy more openly, from the impossibility of concealing it from those endued with powers of vision equally acute, she has to palliate her conduct, two levers are ready, “nationality and religion”—Slavendom and the orthodox Russo-Greek Church.

Did Russia, as was the case, find Poland useless for her own system, then she knew how to model that nation thereto ; no better means could be discovered than to root out the elements inimical to her interests, and in the results of which efforts she was, as we have seen, so fortunate. For the czar had full proof, and from his experience therein has been well convinced, that where fear possesses a nation it is safe and easy to find cause for quarrel.

In the eyes of the European powers, the Greeks, who had no guarantee to give, and the Belgians, whose nationality was secured to them by the Congress of Vienna,—the former being for centuries subject to an impotent ruler, and the latter of like descent with the people who formed the minority amongst them, and yet whose sovereign rights were more indubitable, though never extremely infringed upon,—these were considered real patriots, while the Poles, exasperated to extremities by the policy

pursued towards them, in contravention of the Vienna Congress, must be styled rebels.

These were the measures by which Nicholas learnt how far he might go, and therefore people need not in any way be astonished at whatever conduct may be hereafter pursued by the present czar or his successors, seeing that every attempt at a reaction, hitherto made, has been frustrated. If the czar would alter his line of policy hitherto followed, and which (good or bad as it may be deemed by other claims) it is his purpose to observe in future, he would require to possess a degree of moderation never yet found in human nature.

The grand field, where Russia at present practises her open or secret policy, is the northern Slavo-Turkish provinces, where the czar understands how he can by degrees, and in a peculiar way, obtain their possession. To this end he closely analyzed, and without delay, the nature and consequences which might arise out of Sultan Mahmoud's great reforms; and finding them likely to answer the ends proposed by their originator, he resolved to interpose a preventive to their further progress, for which object nothing appeared so well adapted as a war, begun under specious pretexts, and of the results of which every one must have been previously convinced.

While the sultan was thus prevented from carrying out his wholesome plans, the internal strength of his empire was undergoing an ever-increasing,

silent dissolution, not to be averted, and it now lays in almost breathless debility,—a power without strength, in want of assistance at the crisis of its existence, brought on by the Egyptian ruler, and wished for, and calculated upon, by the czar.

In the meanwhile the autocrat continues, and increases ever more and more, his friendly and neighbourly endeavours in the north of the Ottoman empire, where the before-mentioned words, “Religion” and “Nationalty,” play their important and well adapted parts; for by the czar’s constituting himself also the spiritual head of his Church, he obtains not only the present advantage of having an unlimited power in his own states, but sees the prospective one of reigning spiritually, if not temporally, over the inhabitants of the provinces in question. For he has succeeded so far, that the Slavonians in Turkey no longer sincerely acknowledge the patriarch of Constantinople, appointed or approved by their sovereign, but much rather the great autocrat, as their spiritual head.

As the czar of all the Russias has declared himself the spiritual head of the Greek Church, it cannot fail in future, that all its priests and lay ministry not subject to his sceptre, should, in future, avert their regards ever more and more from the patriarch of Constantinople (as being a subject of a heterodox and even non-Christian ruler) towards St. Petersburg as their metropolis.

The Turkish and European (Christian) diplomats saw not in this arrangement the hidden plan,

long before laid, of forming a Russo-Christian caliphate; and experience has already shown, how successfully the seeds have been sown, although the germs may not yet have taken deep root.

If one would take the trouble closely to consider the conduct of Russia in this respect (a work of no idle mind), and examine it on every side, it may be, whether on that of Catholic or Protestant state policy, he will fall into error who does not remark that the great northern power in the late, and even present undecided events, affecting Christianity in the Ottoman empire, showed itself passive regarding the followers of the true Greek faith,—while in orthodox countries it unceasingly pursues with old Roman perseverance openly, so far as its usual, and perhaps seeming caution allows,—or secretly, as the efforts made by an invisible hand will inevitably be so much the more certain in their effects, and for which efforts the papal remedy affords the best example. When to this is added the consideration of the peculiar national strength which this power has ever at command, it is almost impossible to doubt that the then reigning czar should succeed under circumstances so indicative, were he about the end of the present century (as eventful appearances lead one to expect) to revive at St. Petersburg the Oriental Roman Catholic character of “Commander of the faithful at Bagdad.”

Whoever is pleased to smile at this prediction will not however forget the proverb of Solomon,



which has already so often had its fulfilment, and which is almost daily confirmed in every field of human action—"There is nothing new under the sun."

The efforts of Rome had been inevitably directed the same way, had she possessed the materials, particularly worldly ones, of the force absolutely necessary for accomplishing this—in the strongest sense of the words,—gigantic undertaking; and had she not encountered an obstacle, which, in endeavouring to overcome by a decisive stroke more adapted to its end, precipitated a second to effect it, in favour of whose compliance concessions must have been made, which from the beginning would have compelled her to give the arms out of her hand,—should it appear necessary to pass over the second, she would stand in need of the first, to whom she would be forced to yield up the same advantages.

The efforts of Russia, in regard to Slavendom, may be in a less degree successful, or at most partial, in bringing over the more or less distant Slavonians, who (although a very few in Russia) exist in the greatest number spread over a wide extent belonging to the Austrian sceptre, and in which efforts Russia's policy might have led to the best results she could have desired, had she not partially counteracted them with the most effectual obstacles, by her treatment of the Poles, and she may perhaps never again succeed in erasing the Germanic tendency, which has been long pervading the countries in question.

But a so much the greater field of action is afforded to the Russian emissaries in Turkish Slavonia, favoured by the entire helplessness of that Ottoman government, though it is true that in this respect the other great powers have suddenly aroused themselves from their apathy, and attempted to meet this most menacing danger, but they have already too long left this country to the influence of the czar.

The Turkish government has a so much the more difficult part to perform, from the weakness which, it may be said, has been coming upon it for centuries, rendering it no longer able to continue the struggle with even a part of its subjects, and these standing alone against it in the contest ; and how much less able, when these are secretly and continually supported by an alliance, which it is not in its power, and perhaps not even in its will, to destroy. The well known events which have taken place in Moldavia, Wallachia, Serbia, Montenegro, &c., sufficiently show this, and how well Russia understands the part she has here to play, and for obtaining the wished for and almost exclusive sympathy, or rather supremacy, in these states. And this power has so far succeeded, as to reduce the disposer of lives—the grand sultan—to a mere protector or governor of the Slavonic Danubial provinces ; and the time cannot be averted when Austria must regard her military frontiers, originally a protection against the hordes of Turkish Tartars, as serving the same purpose against

the Cossacks of the Don, followed up by Russian armies. And success is to be wished to the extension of the border system, which shall embrace the formation of a warlike force, in the highest state of military discipline, drawn out of the native disciplined regular militia of the frontier provinces, constituting in the fullest military sense, a respectable, imposing army, ready for all warlike contingencies, and, above all, furnished with the necessary artillery and engineers,—a measure not requiring much time, but which has hitherto been neglected as unnecessary. But at the same time, we cannot conceal our apprehensions of the danger this might incur in such a formation, from the intense feelings of these people in favour of the head of their Church ; here Austria ought to follow up a policy, which she in other respects almost invariably pursues, of organising them, by sending them into her Catholic countries, and substituting the persecuting and indignant Catholic in her place. Indeed, Austria has observed in general too moderate a line of policy, and appears to forget that the kings of Hungary once reigned over the countries now in question, and that each of these kings, even at this day, must, in his coronation oath, wherein he admits the constitution as hitherto maintained,—must, among other things, swear to bring these countries once more under the Hungarian crown ; and this too moderate line of policy appears to have been adopted by the other great European power : *all participating in the doubtful*

*hope, in the end never to be realized,—of what, in diplomatic language, still is called, maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman empire.*

Independent of other resources at its command, oriental policy has too much neglected, or rather allowed the oppression of Christians under its protection, ever to arrive at this wished for point. From the Mussulmans themselves, it has indeed, in the present state of things, as little to expect; even should they take the most desirable and necessary steps,—an event which may be deemed very problematical. That the cause of this is less to be sought for in the religious nature of the case, than in the inevitable consequences arising from the idle apathy, united with stupid pride and barbarity, often manifested by the Turkish people,—let the times of the caliphs and Moorish dominion in Spain testify.

The most clear sighted of living Mussulmans, and perhaps the only one, himself a very old man, can with all his energetic force, at most only expect that his plans will be carried on during his lifetime. At his death, an event likely soon to take place in the course of nature, he being the only representative of his system, it will be impossible to avert the fall of the edifice raised by him with so much pains, and from whom, when living, so important a part was so easily wrested.

When any single power comes forward as the exclusive protector of Turkey, the continuance of

the protectorate must in the end occasion the latter to fall ruined into the arms of the former. When, therefore, the other powers feel themselves obliged to interfere, they have the choice of several measures, and till they may have fully decided on one of these, and before they may be able to bring the one adopted into play, the respite accidentally obtained will have long elapsed. The endeavour, therefore, to uphold the Ottoman empire can only be looked upon as vain : for if the symptoms presented themselves in the case of one sick, which are in a political sense here so manifest, the most skilful physicians, presupposing the existence of the utmost unanimity in their consultation, would at most only be able to prolong the patient's life (in the attainment of which object they have a mutual interest), but never to save it ; and should they, contrary to all expectation, in some degree succeed, still they cannot prevent the physical lassitude inevitably consequent on a state of continual sickness, the final result of which is so easy to foresee. Suppose, however, the singular case that the physicians were at the same time co-heirs of the patient's estate, the division of which would be a matter desirably to agree upon, and that one of them having, recently, unnecessarily done his utmost, though not in his professional capacity, ever more and more to prevent the patient's recovery, and insinuated himself into his unwilling confidence, and from whom the patient could never again extricate himself ; according to custom still

keeping up appearances and nourishing old confidence, especially when, in giving future advice, instead of wholesome council, implanting a silent unobservable mistrust of others, the seeds of which at least, if not the roots, will certainly remain.

As the final dissolution cannot be averted, the only means, therefore, to be taken at the inevitable crisis, against the dangerous attempts of the selfish physician, and even for confining him within his proper sphere, (to fail of doing which would be an unpardonable error),—for which purpose the necessity of the case, if not their inclination, will still at last bring them to adopt,—are the very same which the aforesaid wily physician (as the one present), so fatally for the patient, pursued at the time with so much success, when the patient, if not in the exuberance of strength, enjoyed a well-regulated and apparently established constitution; and those measures must be retrospective, and permanently and perfectly adapted in every respect to encounter the chief exigencies of the case, if they do not strengthen themselves, as he did, on a contrary system,—if he is ready, whenever he may feel himself called upon, to meet the immediate danger to be apprehended from the superior power of his colleagues, whom he finds claim as a right (in so far as any right is in the case) the restitution and division of the inheritance, which is here the object of contention, and of which he had previously deprived the patient, but which, after having had for so long a time in his acknowledged and undisputed possession, he is determined to keep.



The three may then step aside to consult upon other measures, to be taken in place of those he has circumvented, his designs being sufficiently manifest, only taking care for themselves, that he does not invite them to partake of their share in the lion's banquet.

The decided and vast change arising out of the events of the great revolutionary war, and subsequently that of European independence, had made no alteration in the countries of Slavonia. They remained as they were previous to the Congress of Vienna, nor was their importance in any degree estimated, or their independence interfered with. With the expansion of the Russian empire, it became a serious question with Russia, how far they might be useful or dangerous, and the infallible and necessary consequence of such deliberation was to bring them by every possible means under her immediate influence. Their Church, language, common origin, all, as we have already endeavoured to show, conspired to favour her pretensions—the gradual decline of the Ottoman power—the weakness of Austria. The deadly blow caused by the loss of the Netherlands, and of her name and title as emperor of Germany, deeply affected Austria, and had further a paralyzing effect on her native energy and former ambition; and from being aggressive and absorbing, she was forced into the rank of absolutist to preserve what she holds. It was very evident that the influence of the sultan was fast declining, and that his domina-

tion was becoming daily more traditionary than real; and Russia, under the ægis of European policy, pursued her course with judgment, decision, and quietness, with a view to replacing him, and checking Austria. When Turkey falls, these countries will never be able to preserve an independent position; it is not in the nature of events. The spirit of centralization, which characterises and distinguishes the tendency of the governments of the age, will not admit of an existing contradiction, however injurious to the progress of civilization and march of intellect it may be. Although under the dominion of Turkey, they made no efforts to impede the march of Russia on the sultan, when a guerilla warfare might have most essentially served him. They must now declare themselves, as neutrality will be no more tolerated amongst them, than, in a continental war, would it be permitted amongst the smaller principalities of Germany,—and their first efforts, be they what they may, will only lead to their ultimate absorption, amalgamation and identification with the great northern empire. We only regret that the dreadful tyranny and debasing despotism which commands in Russia, prevents our hailing with joy the desired consummation of the destruction of Moslemism in all and every shape; and that we are forced to tolerate a policy, apparently hostile to the extension of Christendom, and to our own convictions and sympathies, and throughout look on with anxiety at any event which threatens the

annihilation and destruction of the followers of the prophet ; deprecating the exclusive principles and policy, and the abominable darkness and bigotry of the Russian rule. There is some liberty left to the sojourner from Christian Europe, in Constantinople, but woe to the day that substitutes the dominion of the papa of Greekism for that of the successor of Mahomet. The struggles of barbarism with civilization getting closer and closer, and threatening immediate contact, are destined, we fear, to be long and bloody. When once the angry passions of the powers of Christian Europe are aroused and put in motion against each other, dreadful and awful as such an hypothesis is, it will not be, as heretofore, confined to themselves ;—for there is not a spot throughout the world which will not be awakened with the shout of conflict, and respond to its call, with all the demoniac and barbarian energy of savage exultation and undefined hope.

From whatever quarter a misfortune has arisen and fallen either on an individual or a power, its recollection will ever produce a vivid impression of anxiety, and on that point will the attention of the suffering party be directed long after its immediate effects have ceased. All the great changes in the European commonwealth, whether struggles for liberty against despotism, or of ambition for conquest and spoil, have ended in the establishment of freedom in the oppressed nations, and in the disappointment and degradation of the oppressors

The destruction and annihilation of Spanish and French tyranny in the Low Countries—the check given to Imperial despotism, Romish bigotry and religious intolerance by the war of Reformation, the irresistible power of Charles V. forced to treat with it—are proofs that the will of the greatest tyrants has a limit, however terrible for the moment is the operation of their power, and that the country whose law is the people's will, duly subordinate to a holy respect of the powers ordained, under suitable restraints of a well-regulated balance of the three powers of the state, must be in the end the most triumphant and most happy. The two fatal extremes to be avoided are those of liberty degenerating into excesses, or aristocracy into luxury, sensuality and despotism, or too much devotion to a favourite chief,—making a blind, and, for a moment, grateful people impose chains upon themselves which can never afterward be removed. The eyes of the world, as above stated, will be always directed on a people who have originated a great movement, and on that point will they remain, until a counteracting power has swept away, by more violent action, the traces of the preceding one.

The Revolution of France, whose terrible energy exhausted itself on Europe, is the point on which the eyes of the present generation still remain fixed with fearful and undiminished interest, directing all their views and ideas either to ward off or aid a movement against that terrible power,

according to their various interests, hopes and fears.

The appeal to the people by the republicans of France, having been heard with secret satisfaction by old and inquiring Europe, although too oppressed to give open expression to their longing aspirations after liberty they received their proud deliverers at least in silence, until they found the fallacy of the promises held out to them, and that the yoke of infidel democracy was more intolerable than the less heavy one of the government to which they owed their allegiance.

The settled powers of Europe, who fell an easy prey to the desperate spirit which had broken loose on them, in proportion to the feelings they severally entertained of their own national importance, estimating its power by the easy conquest it made of them, felt alarmed at the neighbourhood and growing strength of a nation, from whom they had suffered so much, and who made light of the resistance which they could oppose to it. This great destroyer, although forced back again within the bounds from whence it issued to act against confederated Europe, cost them all their united efforts to bring about their deliverance ; not only of the authority which they could command, but also the power called the popular, which they had hitherto despised, and which of itself sprung up to the simultaneous rescue of an oppressed and groaning world,—a native and patriotic population, who had a keen recollection of the tender mercies

of the French generals, colonels and majors, in the government of their respective cities and villages, together with just indignation at the conduct of their new rulers, in promising freedom and riveting more closely their chains.

Despotism, under the cloak of French republicanism, bit the dust of defeat and humiliation; and it is not to be wondered at, that attention should be so exclusively forced on a quarter from whence such great events and fatal consequences have sprung, and that unceasing and never failing anxiety should be directed to the site of danger. But a power that now excites but disproportionate attention is rising up with daily increasing force, and from it dangers are arising no less imminent, but more decisive, combined and fatal in the direction it may choose to take.

France is fatally the country whose movement electrifies the world; whether it is in the report of an emeute, or unsuccessful attempt at assassination, she agitates the Commonwealth from one end to the other. The desire of military glory, carried to an excess, is the greatest curse that can fall on a civilized community. The national pride, and honour, and love of country, should doubtless be cherished,—a sensitiveness might be recommended, but a sensitiveness opposite to that which finds no mode for the adjustment of difficulties than an appeal to the sword for their solution. A large, influential, clamorous party, would fain have every controversy decided by that weapon. Military



enterprise being their ruling passion, they see in every misunderstanding the credit and glory of their country apparently at stake ; so desirous and impatient for action, so eager for war, that they behold in the progress of every difficulty pending an advance to that result. This proceeds from a hatred to tranquillity, and from an indisposition on their part to discover a favourable side of escaping from the obstacles, thus shifting them out of one line of adjustment to open another, which promises a gratification of their ambitious desires, manifested by the exaggerated reports they make of every turn of those difficulties. Every step in their eyes is an advance to the field of battle,—a taint left them by the imperial successes. Napoleon conquered by embodying that feeling, and giving it a direction by crushing the republican faction and disorders of his country ; and she in her turn, controlled by the efforts of this once formidable, but now baffled power, to rid itself of the shackles which inaction imposes on it,—anxious on every occasion to reassert the dominion of sword, and raise again the blood-stained standard of victory,—and conquest France may be said to govern by that power. Louis Philippe's throne without it would very soon show upon what weak foundation it has been raised ; he wisely turns to his own advantage and the peace of the world this terrible engine ; and the day that elevates her higher in the scale of power in France will be the dawn of a bloody one for Europe, and the signal of despotism and the ultimate fall

of that country. It is one of the most remarkable proofs of the advancement and progress of a power in civilization,—its dependence more or less relative on this critical weapon, which will give it proportionately greater weight in regulating the destiny of the world, in being happy at home, and respected abroad.

One of the most interesting facts which characterises the present governments of the world, is the great increase of the military power in each individual state; and it would be a curious inquiry, taking the whole surface of Europe, its former state, and its present subdivision, to compare the extent of territory, and amount of the armed force of the whole, to each particular part between the former and present times. A disproportion would be found scarcely credible to ordinary observers, as compared with the past; but strongly indicative of the feelings of insecurity, both domestic and foreign, which compel them to have recourse to such mutual and open defiance and suspicion; not taking into consideration the great increase of burden imposed on their subjects,—augmenting the chances of war, and drawing a line of demarcation between two great classes in the commonwealth. These disproportioned assemblies of armed men carry with them evidence most conclusive of the fears of the different governments, and of the little prospect there is of the duration of the present calm.

The treaty of 1840, for the recovery of the Otto-

man power and influence in Syria, terminated as might have been expected, when no assistance was given by a European power to the unfortunate pacha. The patched up resources of a newly-created power crumbled before the military force, science and talent of a great country. “*Sufficit diei malitia sua*” appears to be the end and scope of all modern policy, at least it was strikingly exemplified here. We came out of the contest, as was to be expected, with glory and success; the quantum of that glory measured of course by the nature of the resistance which it overcame. That treaty was entered into for the purpose of preserving the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and annexing to it its rebellious provinces;—it was accomplished—and so far the end justified the means. But we ask, has one single step been advanced to the consolidation of that falling and rotten empire?—has it regained vigour, strength, resolution, or activity? Has its dominion been more extended over its other provinces, and have sedition and tumult ceased to rear their head? Or, in short, is the state of the Turkish empire less likely to excite the uneasiness and apprehension of the European powers? The present state of that empire, from one end to the other, is a negative of the assumption. We have made more apparent the weakness of the Mussulman power, by the easy conquest made of that which had nearly destroyed it, and in fact would long ago have done so but for foreign intervention. Persecution, bloodshed and massacre, under the eyes

and by the authority of the restored pachas, are raging with unabated fury against the countrymen and fellow Christians of those powers who took so active a part in re-establishing this hateful influence of the turbaned and bigoted Turk. Such are the immediate effects on those devoted countries; its ultimate ones are easily divined. That it was necessary to check and curb the pacha of Egypt was evident to every one; that his position, to give security to the Turkish empire, must be defined, and that it ought to be brought under the authority of the sultan, was equally clear; but have those objects been attained, in point of fact, as far as regards the latter? His personal power, it is true, is checked—but his influence still remains undiminished. Any means which he can safely resort to without committing himself he will use, to keep up the ferment in those countries, whilst he shows the most mortifying contempt of the reigning power, before whom circumstances forced him to bend for the moment. Where he is, exists order, security, and protection to property; and where his lord and master sways, all characterises the feeble hand which wields the tottering sceptre—the trembling political decrepitude, violence and indecision of debauched old age.

That the pacha could not exist as an “*imperium in imperio*,” we have in a previous publication already said. A sincere and firm combination of all the powers of Europe might have brought about that object, but a partial interference, and the tacit

opposition and enmity openly avowed of the retiring party, was calculated only to destroy the eventual possibility of such a consummation. Decision had better have been postponed or deferred, until unanimity could have been attained. The pacha still remains driven into a corner, but acquiring fresh strength, and waiting till the development of future political events will enable him, with the aid of that power, to appear again on the arena. This treaty was brought about by the will and aid of Russia, acknowledged by the secretary of state for foreign affairs as an excuse to the House of Commons for so sudden and precipitate a denouement of this eventful and complicated business. Russia foresaw the impossibility of a concurrence on the part of France to its provisions; she was aware of the intrigues going on, and the influences and interest which that power had over Egypt, to suppose it possible for a moment that France could, on being so suddenly called into action, make up her mind to a decision which in fact baffled and blasted all her hopes of ambition, and committed her at the call of powers whose rivalry she had always suspected, and perhaps doubted their good faith and fair intentions. Was it in the nature of things to expect concurrence from a power so situated, and otherwise deeply compromised? Had she been fully disposed, it would have required time to escape from her trammels and pledges given,—the extent of which can only be esti-

mated by the resistance founded on those promises which the pacha made. It is true you have compelled her to acquiesce in sulky and forced silence, to which perhaps she might have been otherwise brought by conviction, and the good sense, firm and unequalled talents of her more sober statesmen, which the speeches of Guizot,\* Molé, Soult, &c. &c., gave every reason to expect would have been the case; to be short, the treaty

\* This was written, as well might be supposed, before this Protestant jesuit had unmasked himself by his diplomatic juggleries and his barefaced denunciations and innuendos. It was difficult to conceive that ministerial subserviency could have been carried so far by a great and honourable statesman. What must the northern and consistent governments think of this arrogance, however reprehensible their own policy may be? Have they ever compromised themselves and dared to insult the majesty of a friend and an ally by such a tone? The political moralities of this monarchy of the Barricades have been laid open, never to be effaced; and alas! it exercises a most illegal and decisive influence on its supporters, very little to their credit or to their imagined and self-styled independence. The immortal dictum of the captive king of France, "that if honour was banished from mankind, it ought to find its refuge in the breast of kings," has been modified by the code of accidental upstarts. We do not desire to be hypercritical; but we were disgusted at the tampering with the confiding majesty of Great Britain in the affair of the Montpensier marriage—which ultimately, like all such projects, conceived and carried into execution by unlawful means—has defeated the hopes and expectations of the projectors. Power can neither be maintained nor propagated by alliance; or family influence transmitted or augmented. We should have thought that the family alliances of Louis XIV. and of Napoleon had been a sufficient warning—but, as we have before said, "*Quos Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.*"



was carried into effect—" *Sufficit diei malitia sua.*"

We will now enter into the remote and probable consequences of this awfully momentous treaty—first of all glancing over the effects which it produced at the moment on those powers,—parties to it on one side, and the dissenting one on the other. However widely we differ from the late secretary for foreign affairs on the subject of his foreign policy, and more especially in regard to this, it is but just to acknowledge the vigour, energy, activity and decision, together with Lord Beauvale, our ambassador at Vienna, he displayed in carrying its provisions into effect ; and to these qualities, so characteristic of, and inherent in both, and so timely displayed, is to be attributed its success, and to these alone.

No country in the world would suffer more from the horrors of war, and none have suffered so much, as Austria and Russia ; and it must be forgiven them if their reigning family, amiable as they are in every sense of the word, did shrink from the consequences of a possible collision, and renewal of those sufferings, the wounds of which are scarcely closed, but are still felt by the present generation of statesmen, who watch over their destinies. The sensation in Germany was decidedly against war ; it was unpopular ; there was no visibly exciting cause ; and the sympathies of the people, however obnoxious the French are to them, might have been momentarily in their favour.

Nothing better could elucidate the feeling which existed in Berlin than a representation at the theatre. The words, "*Was gehen uns die Türken an?*" were received with rapturous and unbounded applause. In Vienna the current of feeling was acquiring strength against it; so much so, that the imperial court threatened the prime minister with dismissal, should he call on the country to arm. Nothing but the decision of the English foreign secretary, and the signal and brilliant manner in which our fleet carried out the orders consigned to them,—their rapid progress in the work of demolition of Egyptian rule in those countries,—saved Europe from the shock of a collision. Thousands were ruined of all classes at Vienna by the sudden and continued fall of paper. At Paris also the panic shook the credit of many, and sent to irretrievable ruin more. The extreme sensibility of public credit throughout Europe, in which the existence of so many thousand families is involved, should make statesmen reflect seriously before, by such demonstrations, they compromise the social state of the world. They are in their way revolutions, and such repeated shocks tend to render mankind more reckless and desperate, by shaking the foundations of the security of property, bringing on anarchy and confusion. The state of excitement of the revolutionary party is strong enough throughout Europe, without adding fuel to the flame, and opening a field for the restless and ever-excited spirit of the age, to arouse distress into action and plunge the world into all

the dangers of change. The cause which prevented an explosion will be found in the actual state of France,—of her want of proper preparation, indecision, not knowing how, when, or where, to strike the blow,—not having a man equal to the occasion,—a well calculated fear and respect for the powerful combination which existed against her,—to the sagacity of her great monarch,—and the good sense, forbearance and firmness of her ambassadors at the respective courts of Vienna, Berlin, and London,—who, fortunately for her and the peace of the world, warded off the dreaded collision. The barn-door cock strutting and crowing of M. Thiers,—the incarnation of French policy, the representative and expression of her nationality and her aspirations,—did not succeed in bringing on war and anarchy, and plunging his country, Europe, and the civilized world, into an abyss of blood and confusion. Circumstances removed him from the post, which he was, notwithstanding his great talents, so ill calculated to fill, and he fell, perhaps, like the stormy petterel in the midst of hurricane and confusion, never to rise again,—his voice being only now heard like the croak of the raven, harmless in itself, but ominous of ill. Whatever his talents and powers may be, and unquestionably great they are, he proved his inclinations, and that he would do mischief if he could. He represents a powerful, stirring, and restless party in France, but one more powerful, composed of the lovers of social order and civi-

lization hurled him from his post, and consigned him to temporary oblivion. The part taken by the king, seconded by the illustrious statesmen and generals of a great country, in opposing the pretensions of Jacobinism and the designs of anarchists, will redound to their immortal honour, and entitle them to the gratitude of the lovers of order of the present and future generations. Of the power of France as a great country no one doubts,—of her great susceptibility,—of her readiness to rush into any enterprise however desperate, provided it gives scope to her military spirit,—of her prodigality of blood,—she has given too many proofs. But it is eternal vanity, that preys like a gnawing ulcer on her vitals, and perverts her best feelings.

Had the spirit of the Directory,—had a Carnot's head and enterprise existed at the conclusion of this treaty, our own impression is, that he would have assembled an army on the northern frontiers, have marched into Belgium (*nolens volens*), concentrated her fleets on the Syrian coasts, and thus made her isolation respectable, by giving it a portentous meaning. Had the first measure taken place, she would, at one march, have turned the flank of the Prussian defences at Trier, and begun the war on the Rhine; instead of which M. Thiers talked of raising a million of men,—giving time for preparation and resistance, instead of paralyzing that resistance by a vigorous and bold coup-de-main. The effect of such a step would have

been, in our opinion, and upon what we are able to observe, the secession of the two powers of Austria and Russia from the alliance, and the consequent neutrality of Germany. England and Russia would have then been the isolated parties—war between England and France—or France raised to a pitch of elevation dangerous to the independence of the European commonwealth. All this was practicable and possible. France of 1792 and 1796, when she resisted invasion, and carried her arms into Italy and Germany, defying and breaking the powers of the greatest empire then known, made no note of preparation ; it was a word and a blow,—decision, action, and conquest,—*Veni, vidi, vici*.

We must not be understood as objecting to the isolation of France, as condemnatory of the false step taken by England. Had that isolation been one of principle, its action must have been as overpowering and as formidable as it would have been just and well-conceived. European liberty would have joyfully accepted it ; and intriguing Russian despotism must have crouched and quailed before it, carrying with it the support of the best men in France and Europe ; but it was a revolutionary impulse, an ambitious and jacobinical abortion, and, opposed by her great balancing and conservative parties, met with a premature death. In the one case it would have arrayed the world on its side,—in the last it alarmed and alienated all the rational friends of liberty and order, and remained and ended a contemptible isolation.

At all events this treaty, a justly celebrated one, had all the merit of success. It aroused England to arm, which had been a work of great effort on the part of the country and the press to force her into. It added moreover a brilliancy and victory to our arms, and showed that England, by whomsoever governed, acknowledged the validity and force of a treaty, shrinking from no sacrifice or expense to carry it into execution. France lost for ever an opportunity of throwing the seeds of dissension among the northern nations. What she might then have done, she will never again be able to do ; the precious moment is gone. The allies and her are now eternally compromised. The treaty was the consummation of Russia's policy,—war was not her object,—her time is not yet come. By throwing her great power into the balance, she prevented the possibility,—raised up sentiments of dissatisfaction and disaffection, increased and gave food to the bitter hatred and deadly feeling of animosity which existed between France and England on the one side, and France and the continent on the other,—until a favourable occasion arrives for arraying them against each other, and arming them against the enemies of her ambition, love of conquest and dominion.

We have endeavoured to make the position of M. Thiers more clear, and show how completely he was unequal to the task he had undertaken of isolating France, and bullying Europe ;—with uninterested views, what he might have done,—and



how he might most effectually have brought about that consummation which he failed in effecting. M. Thiers' great mistake, and from which all the others flow, was an overcharged conception of the power of his country; we mean its moral influence in Europe;—his depreciation and ignorance of that of England, and flippant contempt and defiance of that of the continent. In all his previous speeches, the doctrine of expediency was the ground-work of all his policy. In time of peace proposing *coup de guerre*; dispatching fleets here,—armies there. In fact, the Charles X.'s Algerine principles; despotic and republican construction of the faith and honour of nations and treaties.

His fixed idea is that France was necessary to England, and that it was only under her wing that the latter could come forth with effect on the continent. He forgets that France represents no "principle;" no real liberty exists in France; that as to what she is, other nations are more free, or less despotic. It is true that other nations do not possess a democratic and venomous press, levelled at all that is respectable and established, with a general licence to abuse all governments, and all authorities. We cannot, ourselves, quote a single instance of France enjoying more of that commodity,—liberty, than her neighbours. Did France represent a principle, and steadily act up to it, her position in regard to Europe would be very different. She would then command respect instead

of fear ; then, as Frederick the Great of Prussia said, not a cannon should be fired in Europe without her permission. The law of property, her endless revolutions, the state of public opinion, are too many opposing elements to the concentration and consolidation of national power ; the influence she exerts over Europe arises from the recollections of her victories and the sting she left behind. Had her great leader fought and conquered for mankind, and not for himself,—had he, instead of desolation and conquest, with the power of arms established a new system, without organically affecting that which existed,—thereby using the rights of conquest for the benefit of the oppressed nations of the continent, and confirming a moral dominion over them,—in that case, her position would have been very different. But France did nothing of that sort. She aroused the indignation both of monarchs and people, deceiving both ; they turned round upon her, and sent her back with curses and reproaches, withholding in their magnanimity, what the right of conquest (her own and only principle which she so often quotes) entitled them to exact,—security for the future and indemnification for the past. Those monarchs, justified as they would have been in carrying out the laws of retribution, after the abuse which they had received from her, and her unprovoked aggressions on their territories, contented themselves with giving tranquillity instead of anarchy to France, and merely establishing their own principle in the restoration of monar-

chy to a great country—however unworthy the restored French monarch afterwards showed himself of the sacrifice made by Austria and England for *him*.

Having considered the bearings of this treaty, its ostensible objects, &c., we will in a few words glance over its consequences, as regards the future policy of the European commonwealth. Russia, as we before said, by throwing the weight of her great power into the scale, according to all reasonable calculation made war an impossibility. It was not her policy to provoke a sudden outburst; neither her finances nor the state of her population admitted of it. She confirmed by it her influence over the governments of Europe; isolating them, so as to render their union with France a circumstance of extreme difficulty, if not moral impossibility; giving greater intensity to the principle which she represents, by drawing a more decided line of demarcation, and rendering a conciliation or amalgamation impossible; increasing the irritability and fiery ambition of France, by calling up ancient recollections of enmity between her and England, consequences which flow naturally out of the confirmation of her influence and power in Germany; making herself a necessary support to those governments; rendering them odious, and suspicious to France; giving the latter power an excuse, at any future time that she may think proper to choose for sowing discord between them, the opportunity of an alliance with her, should

Austria or England prove refractory ; keeping up the public attention in France, and opening old wounds ; calling up all the fears of revolution and property, by showing them their deadly enemy ready to break out upon them at her bidding ; shaking the social ties of the whole European commonwealth, held together as they are by such fragile, slender bonds ;—increasing her own internal and natural strength, by sowing disunion among the neighbouring nations ; associating her name and making it familiar to free England, thereby facilitating her future plans of more effectually blinding that country to her dangerous prospects of oppression, and softening down whatever feelings of asperity may have existed towards her in the breasts of her free born sons, by showing her apparent moderation and disinterestedness, and that liberty and despotism could go hand in hand, without any violence to the feelings of humanity ; throwing a veil over Poland ; leaving the screams of crushed liberty, in the deserts of Siberia, to find an echo only in the blast ; and to sum up,—however apparently impossible it may be deemed in the present state of happy alliance and combination,—we repeat she has attained one great object, the inevitable isolation of England, the ultimate end of her projects, or an alliance, on condition of subserviency to Russian interests.

Let statesmen before they decide upon such affairs go into the countries themselves, or consult some competent authority, and not blindly follow

the dictates of passion, and prejudice stimulated with all the energies even of octogenarian activity. Let them consult those who know what Turkey is,—that she is debased, rotten, and fallen. Those violent efforts to uphold her authority in her provinces is like trying to fasten sound wood on a rotten cask. The power of England, so partially displayed, has caused the ill disguised envy of Russia, and fomented the hatred and jealousy of the most sensitive and military nation in Europe. The city, and eventful position of Constantinople, is the point never to be lost sight of by England. Than this famous treaty, never was there a more reckless and dangerous disregard of consequences displayed. The political dice-box was thrown in a way which showed much temerity and little judgment; and Europe was convulsed, from its centre to its extremities, in carrying it into execution. Never was diplomacy more at fault, never was a responsibility encountered by England of so hazardous and doubtful an issue, unworthy of that firmness and caution which ought to characterise her. Both in Europe and Asia, the swell of the wave raised by a mighty storm is scarcely subsiding, and the earthquake shock of this great political speculation is still felt in both hemispheres.

The question of the fortifications of Paris, arising out of this treaty, formed an interesting source of discussion, and elicited a vein of talent, and oratory on both sides in the French Chambers, highly creditable to the contending orators, with some very

few exceptions. The days when fortifications stopped armies are passed : even Vauban himself outlived them, and their benefits were felt when they did not exist, but ceased immediately after their existence. Casting an eye over Europe, we do not know one point, except it be Coblenz, which possesses those advantages to which fortification can be applied in modern times against modern arms, excepting a line of connected frontier fortresses, and baffle the ordinary calculations of a siege, and then only because investment from its peculiar situation is almost impossible. Ratisbon, perhaps, in a less degree. Both are great strategical points, consequently worthy of all the regard due to positions highly favoured by nature. The best fortifications are the breast of the soldier, animated with a love for God and his country. Paris, from the peculiar position it occupies, may also be a distinguished exception to the objections against fortifications, should a war take place in Europe. The armies of France will not retire, as before, from exhaustion, but for the purpose of multiplying resistance behind stone walls. The war of the French revolution had exhausted her population, and palsied her energies, but that is not likely to be again the case. No war with the present implements of destruction, would, in any probability, last a series of years without extermination, or resolving society into its primitive elements, and depopulating the world. From the direction which events are likely to assume, how-



ever painful it is to see the money raised from the labours of the people not returned to them by procuring additional means of existence and comfort, yet in the case of Paris it was a most sage decision of the king, and this generation may yet see the day that will attest its wisdom. Without tiring our readers by recapitulating worn out and oft-repeated arguments, our impression is, that should the fortifications of Paris be carried out to the extent required with the sums voted,—that supposing a combination should again exist against France, partaking of the nature of the last, and its union, a fact not impracticable as far as the continental governments are concerned,—but whether with the previous popular enthusiastic movement is very doubtful,—the very preparations for bombardment would necessitate the expense of no inconsiderable *place d'armes*, and to effect this object would exhaust all the arsenals of Europe; and we have heard that an opinion has been expressed by many experienced officers in the late German armies, that had Paris been fortified in 1814, it would have considerably checked the ardour of advance of the allied armies, and anybody who has read the history of that war closely must come to the same conclusion. When France and Russia shall agree by common accord to throw away the bayonet and convert it into the ploughshare—when the straits of the Dardanelles are open to the commerce of the world, and a degrading war against a country of brave mountaineers struggling for their independent existence,

and in no way aggressory, has ceased, and the continuance of which is an apparent proof of the virtual subserviency of England to Russia, then only will the fortifications of Paris be of no avail—but they have their meaning and their end. The idea generally broached of its being a dynasty question carries absurdity in the face of it. No fortifications can defend a man against that which maketh a hole. “Although not so deep as a well, nor so wide as a church door, still it will do.” It may be and will be a great advantage in the hands of the governing power, that is, to be used, according to occasion, against external or internal foes, but it will never save the dynasty of Louis Philippe. He must have studied history to little purpose if he believes by that means to secure France to his family. All newly acquired authorities in the end become jealous and suspicious and fearful; they forget from whom they have received power for a time, and that there is “One greater than they who ruleth in the kingdom of men.”

Will even the walls of Paris rise to the height of those of great Babylon? And where are those great walls? The towers, enciente, bastions will not prevent the “*Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin.*”

The Western alliance—under whose auspices the French revolution gathered strength in Europe, and obtained time to concentrate and develope her powers, which enabled her to subdue sedition at home, and soften prejudices abroad—was a grand idea, and had the motives which led to its concep-

tion been pure and disinterested, it might have been productive of the best results to the countries in whose interests it was undertaken, and been otherwise a blessing to the world. But it was sown in a soil of mingled passions and conflicting interests, and its fruits were discord, rivalry, jealousy, and disappointed ambition. England was sincere in the part which she had proposed to herself; she secured by that means the peace of the world for a time, and checked the ambitious and despotic projects of the northern powers. ;—at the same time, shaking off the trammels of that most unholy alliance, falsely and impiously denominated “holy”—by chaining down freedom and liberty of thought and action. A mild change might have been brought about in the general policy of Europe, had France possessed, in any degree, a liberty that could be propagated without horror, or bloodshed and anarchy. She looked on the alliance with England only as bringing her nearer to the Rhine, or giving her time to confirm her conquests in Africa, and increase her military and (more especially) her naval power. England was necessary to her, and the devil’s embrace took place between them for a time. That most impolitic and degrading interference in Spain, which has ended in establishing usurpation, in the person of a slow and eventually successful soldier,\* may be characterized as one of the most shortsighted

\* This, be it remembered, was written when the slow Espartero wielded the powers of the state.

strokes of English statesmanship. Previous to that period the Basque provinces being free, our manufactures entered their ports, and from thence were passed over the mountains into the interior. They were a source of great annoyance and jealousy to the frontier towns of France, whose flimsy linen stuffs were rejected for the more solid ones of England. Along the eastern shore, from the bay of Cadiz to the harbour of Barcelona, our ships entered and swept, and carried off all their products. They came into the Mediterranean ports with ballast, and returned laden with the fruits of the country—it is true they took nothing in exchange from us. France was pouring in other light articles, and carrying off the gold which we paid for commodities sold to us. We lost Biscay, and found a compensation—nowhere. Have we established freedom or religious liberty in those countries? We who have given the elective franchise to the Catholic, and been taunted with every reproachful term for so long withholding it,—have we not a right to demand religious toleration in the name of liberty and humanity? If a Protestant were to die in Spain, his body might be thrown to the dogs; for in this Romanist country Christian burial is denied to him, and it was only lately that a burial place was permitted to be used for public purposes at Malaga; and this concession was considered very wonderful, extorted only by the persevering exertions of the English consul.

The threatening and warlike attitude of France ;

the menacing, revolutionary aspect of England, together with a cloud of Jacobinism lowering over Europe, would appear to have suggested a direction to English diplomacy, otherwise utterly irreconcilable with the dictates of a sound and wholesome policy,—with a proper sense of her dignity,—a right apprehension of her essentially preventive position in continental politics, and a due regard to the faith of treaties, which were broken in the interest of French policy. Russian influence went to leave Belgium an open question, having the Dutch fortresses in any event at the nod of the czar. France having then, with the co-operation of England, broken the treaties ratified by the Vienna Congress, by sanctioning—if not directly aiding in—the separation of Belgium from Holland, effected the “*conquête pacifique*” of the former country, as much so as was consistent with her then prevailing policy ; leaving its further appropriation to be carried out on the remote and certain contingency of a general or partial continental movement.

No country in Europe exhibited such a picture of internal prosperity, as that which the sagacious and astute mercantile policy of the Orange king procured for her. Industry, manufactures, commerce and colonization were accumulating riches around her—poverty and distress were unknown—when the hydra-monster of French revolution, and papal Romanism and restless candidates for place and power, combined their unwholesome and bane-

ful influences, and drove her from her envied position. She had far outrun the manufactures of France and Germany, — nay, was bidding fair to become a most dangerous rival to the commercial and industrial greatness of Great Britain, when the report of the French barricades, fulminating and announcing change and movement, found an echo in her streets. The whole scene changed at once ; ruin entered her palaces, and dire poverty into her cottages ; her position in the scale of power, which was becoming daily more defined, was lowered to one of dependence and self-abasement ; a flank movement, of the last importance to Europe, was gained by France, and not only to Europe, but England also. A formal annexation would have been dangerous ; besides which, a powerful commercial prohibitive party in France was opposed to it. Its ultimate union being so well secured by these judicious proceedings, French diplomacy obtained for their country every reasonable and attainable advantage, without corresponding danger ; establishing and securing the initiative of prior possession for her armies, in the event of hostile movements in Europe.

The generals and statesmen, assembled at Vienna, saw, appreciated and felt from experience the critical position of Belgium, in reference to the great powers ; and how necessary it was to secure her, not only against the aggressive policy of France, but as a means of enabling Germany to repel invasion, to begin the war under the least



disadvantageous circumstances, and they intrusted to England's invincible general the arrangement and security of the fortresses. How came England to flinch from the vindication of the responsibility imposed on her, at the menace of the then old revolutionary minister of the barricade-king? The feelings since exhibited in France, the actual state of Belgium, are fatal evidences of the error of such a policy, in following in the wake of France's ambition; derogatory to ourselves, and destructive to the best interests of peace, and of the country itself in question, menaced as she is, on every side, in her very liberty of thought and action. Such a state of things in Belgium, if not of itself sufficient to produce convulsion, circumstances threatening war will accelerate. Every movement that may present itself for mischief will be hailed with joy, and converted into a pretext for throwing off this conventional and self-styled independence; especially by the French party,—the most numerous, most clamorous, and, above all, most united, burning to ally and to identify themselves with the glory and honour of their great military neighbour.

We do not think, even were a genius like that of Frederick the Great of Prussia to arise, that, under the sadly depressing influences of this late revolution, it would be possible ever to recover for her a reputable place among the nations. Her industrial and manufacturing power are undeniably great, but characterised by a most disproportionate timi-

dity of commercial enterprise,—or, in fact, enterprise of any sort ;—a state of things produced by her undefined and dependent political and geographical position, and by the jealousy of her powerful and interested neighbour.

We should be sorry to see any change in Europe that would give Belgium either to France or Prussia ; but we are sadly apprehensive that when the map of Europe is again for a time closed up, by the outbreak of war or revolution, such will be her inevitable and eventual destiny.

The priests look out to the chances of a change of dynasty in France settling the crown again on the last of the old, worn out, bigoted, imbecile and ambitious race of Bourbons, those inveterate enemies of England. On the other hand, “ *Le jeune Belge* ” aspires to embrace “ *La jeune France*.” Exterminating conquest can only fix the Dutchman or German in possession ; although it cannot be denied, the former has many friends, and much deserved sympathy, especially amongst the easy class of society. Still it must remain somewhat problematical and doubtful, whether the extraordinary state of commercial prosperity, arising out of the position obtained for her by the treaties of Vienna, and attributable to the energy and keen commercial knowledge of the Dutch king, might not have been followed by some of those fearful reactions in commerce, so dangerous and threatening at times to England, and as destructive in their consequences as her late fatal and abortive

revolution. Not a statesman or general has Belgium produced to vindicate a name for her in history. Her fields, manured with the choicest blood of the world, still invite the vulture from afar. Spite of the energy, perseverance, and industry of her sons, desolation, dating from a remote period, with blighting and withering steps has depopulated nearly one-half of her once flourishing and historical cities, Ghent and Bruges; pointing out, with fearful truth, to the destructive course of change and revolutions, produced by unhallowed influences.

The wise and provident policy of the continental sovereigns in awarding her a place of independence, power and distinction among nations,—allying two weak states, and forming one respectable, and not only respectable, but more than respectable, one formidable whole,—giving her an interest and a feeling of independence among nations, with whom she might, on equal terms for her own and the world's welfare, negotiate,—was sacrificed to Romanism and republicanism,—indicating, as the event but too fatally proved, her own inherent folly and weakness. She is now legislated for, uncertain whether a Prussian or Dutch burgomaster under holy alliance influences;—or a French prefect, with the revolutionary banner of France, under the thunder of the guns of the fortifications of Paris, be installed in Brussels;—French armies, with republican leaders, presiding at the inauguration of Jacobin supremacy, until again an ocean of

European blood rolls back the tide of war, with retribution's irresistible reaction on the Gallic intruder,—prostrating Belgium's native energies, and fair fields, to the struggles and consequences of remorseless conquest. What hear we now—now echoed in her cities and halls and streets? That England, that France, that Europe, jealous of her increasing prosperity, combined together in secret intrigue to destroy her growing pre-eminence! Her folly and infatuation become so glaring and intolerable that she would fain seek out of herself a cause and an excuse for the suicidal act, by which her people eternally compromised their independence, and sealed the ultimate destruction and degradation of their country. With Holland, and Holland's wise king, Belgium could dictate law; with Leopold, and English and French protocols, she must receive it from the strongest. Although, perhaps, Leopold has done as much for her as was possible under such an accumulation of resisting circumstances, it manifested England's false position in regard to herself and Europe. Talleyrand's overpowering talents in diplomacy paralysed Great Britain, and, with Great Britain, Europe; securing Belgium eventually for his country, in the least costly manner. Poland—Belgium—Cracow—what comments on the wisdom, foresight and courage of British statesmen!

The Western alliance was a sickly child, of puny growth, which died of premature rottenness, and hereditary constitutional disease and inherent

weakness. It was a lie from the beginning ; it had the fate of all impositions—it left those who might and ought to have been friends, more separated than ever ; it betrayed its base origin ; and English liberty could no longer be a mask to infidel democracy and Catholic despotism, or a French pseudo-liberty. The enemies of freedom looked on with tranquil contempt, and awaited silently the hour when it would sound its own death-knell.

France, Austria, and England, are the only ostensible alliance, from which a combination of sufficient force to be effective could arise that would balance the growing power of Russia, and command by their union her obedience to the provisions of a treaty in the interests of European society. All the efforts of legislation and diplomacy will not restore vigour or strength to the falling provinces of Turkey. Her vitality is gone ; she must fall to pieces in her own capital, for the want of power sufficient to exercise her authority and enforce compliance to her decrees. The taxes are only raised by resorting to measures of extreme violence ; the Christian populations are in a state of feverish excitement ; contests of the most brutal nature are going on likewise between them and the governing powers in the provinces, and every day reconciliation becomes more difficult ; and religion, which has always been abused from the beginning of the world, is called into aid for the worst purpose, to excuse the violence of the most deadly and diabolical passions on both sides.

It must necessarily arise from these circumstances that interference becomes in the interest of society and humanity indispensable,—and from whence could that come with a better grace, and a more decided effect, than from countries far removed from the seat of contest, and whose interference could not be misconstrued? It was deemed necessary to occupy Cracow by the three northern powers. Although there all the three powers were agreed in carrying into practice the duty of executioner on the luckless victims of restrained and smothered liberty, why should interference not be carried on in the revolted provinces of Turkey on the same condition with a view to the same end, viz.—the establishment of legitimate authority and suppression of rebellion? Because in the one case its extinction might baffle the plan of despotism, and in the other it becomes necessary to them. Russia, cautious as she is not to commit herself by any overt act of acknowledging successful conspiracy or resistance, will always lend all the aid that diplomacy and secret service money can offer, in sowing dissension to all established authority that might interfere with her projects of future pre-eminence,—punishing those victims who were blind enough to fall into the snare, for the participation in the crime of resisting her sway; and thus by crushing and annihilating every point of union, asserting her own iron power. Austrian, Russian, and French interference, have always been adopted on the same principles, and we confess, that what-



ever liberty of thought, or independence of action, may have existed previous to that interference,—the countries, when abandoned, have been left without the germs, or a particle of individual liberty, of either thought or action. What did the Russian occupation of the conquered provinces of Turkey leave behind, on their restoration to that power? We believe the present state of open and avowed rebellion, and the true causes of the source of that disunion, are to be traced to Russian influence and its seeds. Interference has always been exercised in a despotic sense to be effective; the check of that, by a really constitutional power, is the only possible means of obviating the evil. It follows then that interference ought to be the exception, and not the rule. We have seen the results of English interference in Spain, the effort of a constitutional country to aid another in establishing the rights of a people to govern themselves, and free them from the chains of bigotry and tyranny—we have seen the consequences of two governments allying themselves for that purpose. Individually or collectively it is bad in principle, and ineffective in practice in producing desired results. Therefore an alliance between Austria, England, and France, ought to be one to prevent that of any other. But a consummation so devoutly to be wished is morally impossible to be carried into effect. A treaty might be made to prevent interference; but that, from the conflicting nature of their different governments, and jealousy of the two continental powers, against

their profession of diametrically opposed opinions, is rendered, alas! however desirable, practically impossible. No one country in Europe can act separately from the other. Neutrality is equally impossible. Europe and the world is one house and one family, and all must be involved in the consequences of a struggle amongst any one of its members. The end will be that of a house divided against itself, and society will resolve itself into its primitive elements, as a consequence of a collision under the existing circumstances. So long as peace has existed, its very duration is a ground of fear and suspicion that the present state of affairs cannot last. On ordinary calculations it might be inferred, that its duration, from that circumstance alone, would be more lasting; it would appear as if mankind only regarded peace as a preparation for war, and its durability as unnatural, and subversive of the effect in question, beyond the time necessary for serious preparation of offence and for doing mischief.

Great empires will always be ambitious, smaller powers will be restless and meddling; a spirit of rivalry and jealousy will, in spite of every effort to remove all abuses, find a place in the bosom of society, until taking into account its conflicting elements, its prevention becomes more remarkable than its breach. But it has been commanded by an overwhelming and counteracting influence of too powerful a nature to be contended against, and society owes its present tranquillity to the deepest

combination of human interest, aided by a preponderance of the elements of order over those of chaos and anarchy. Their collision will be the signal for its outbreak, and the dissolution of the social compact will be the result of a conflict under present circumstances.

The whole history of Europe is one continued series, with few intermissions, of war and revolutions. The phases of political society have their periodical changes like the physical world, governed as they are by the same general laws. The French revolution, the most remarkable after that of England, spread an alarm which was carried to a greater extent, and its influence was more immediate. Our revolution was more a home revolution, affecting very little the then existing relations on the continent amongst the several states. The causes which produced the French revolution had been accumulating for a series of years. The licentiousness and debauchery of the court—the oppression exercised by the nobles—the bigotry and intolerance of the Roman Church ;—all these accumulated evils burst out into one general and dreadful conflagration, the more intense and destructive from the time that the flame had been smothered under the embers, seeking in vain a vent for its fury. The French revolution has been ascribed to the writings of the atheistical writers of that period,—the voluptuous Rousseau, the sarcastic Voltaire, and the bolder and more candid Diderot ; but the soil was prepared to receive them,—it was not they who prepared the soil.

Compare the writings of England's republicans and those of the French school. The former possessed a high sense of the dignity of human nature, and acknowledged its subordination to a first Great Cause, but a humble sense of their own situation, together with a deep feeling of the responsibility they had incurred. It was, in England, a calm, determined struggle against oppression ; and if there was excess in it, it was not the terrible excess of remorseless infidelity ;—it was not the wild outbreak of slaves suddenly loosed on society, or, more properly speaking, tigers escaped from their den. It was that of men, descendants of the recipients of the Magna Charta,—barons who were determined that liberty should not be a dead letter ; and if there was hypocrisy in many, still the necessity of keeping up appearances showed that the spirit of religious obedience must have been deeply rooted in the social system. But in France it was otherwise. From the day that a debauched and impious king stooped to acknowledge the wild blasphemy of a subservient priest, who, on meeting his monarch at the gates of Strasburg, saluted him with the song of the inspired Simeon, and applied it to the earthly lord,—from that day might France's downfall be dated. The revolution of England was like a great tree cut down to its stem, but the roots remained in the soil, and it spread forth into fresh life and beauty. That of France was like one whose roots had been blown into the air. In England it was a mere suspension

of the power of the constitution, rendered necessary by the attempts of corrupt and venal courtiers to destroy its operations. It corrected without destroying the aristocracy, after having read them a salutary and somewhat severe lesson. In France, monarchy, aristocracy and priesthood all fell into the pit of burning lime, and wild and ungovernable passions, and she has not, and never will, recover from the consequences of that general overthrow ; and her eternal restlessness and uneasy position attest its fatal origin.

The French revolution was like an ulcer in the face of a rotten constitution, in which the knife of the operator destroyed the noblest mark of man, and left him a hideous and distorted object. That of England was the case of an ulcer scientifically cauterised, which the healthy state of the constitution of the patient enabled it to rise from, in fresh strength and beauty. At that period the peculiar position of England favoured the efforts to regenerate herself, but the case would be very different now. That intense energy, that peculiar distinction of the English constitution, which imparted such life and vigour to its various branches, exists now only in degree, and should a change take place again of that sudden and violent character which overwhelmed ancient France, the consequences would be as dreadful, and more certainly destructive, both of her power at home and her influence abroad. It is that unity, that well-balanced power

at home, that can make her respectable, and give her weight and importance amongst the nations of the Continent, for which power and liberty, and wealth consequent on that liberty, they most cordially detest her, and hail with delight every change that may bring her down from her proud pre-eminence to their dependent positions.

The great European commonwealth must have some question to agitate it. The Belgian question—the king of the French question—the Spanish question—the Eastern question,—and again the Spanish question—we slumber awhile in the east to awake again in the west. The fever infecting the European body politic is showing itself betimes,—now at its extremities, now in its centre, flying about and defying human skill to eradicate or fix it. All cures, all remedies are resorted to,—the homœopathic,—the antiphlogistic and antiplethoric;—the despairing statesman, and the sanguine metaphysical prophet,—the builder of theories, and the proof of their every-day evanescence,—all lay before us in their wild impossible state of reconciliation of causes with effects.

We have passed through several phases and changes of the body politic, threatening consequences of a most violent nature,—Constantinople,—Syria and the isolation of France,—the Mc Cleod, boundary question and Oregon question,—which in more barbarous and more chivalrous, but less calculating times, and, it must be added, less hu-



mane and more bigoted, would have transferred the spirit of the individual to the multitude, and roused a nation to arms; but they have hitherto passed over "like summer clouds," charged with heavy storms, and evaporating in mist; they have been dispelled by the rays of a mild and benignant sunshine, leaving the world to wonder at their own fearful anxieties and unfulfilled prophecies and anticipations.

We have now again the Spanish question, an apparent contest for the preponderance of English and French talents,—a faint and dying echo of the Western alliance,—and now what but a combination of those really discordant powers, for the purpose of establishing, by joint concurrence, a principle, the destruction of which caused so much unnecessary blood to be shed,—the Carlists and the Northern powers—the English and French alliance—Evans and Herman and Trun? Don Carlos, having no personal character, betrayed by his own courtiers, and rejected and despised by his supporters—the victim of intrigue, and not having sufficient personal character to subdue that intrigue—the weak and contemptible representative of a great national conservative, and influential party in Spain, betraying that great party by his fears, jealousies and bigotry—he fell by his own hand, the best blood of his country having been poured out for him in vain.

We have now at this moment again the Spanish

question\*—queen Christina has failed in a wretchedly planned attempt to regain for royalty its lost influence. In Spain every thing is personal. Nothing but personality has existed in Spain for years and centuries, and yet no great character representing revolution or royalty, excepting Zumalacaregua has been hrown up by the volcano of the two great contending principles for dominion.

Two contending principles divide the world, taken in the extreme, denominated religion and infidelity—*authority* and reason—conservation and destruction—revolution and the *statu quo*—monarchy in its absolute uncontrolled state, and the monarchical principle in union with the elements of popular power and aristocracy, thereby wielding the government of the state. The latter is represented by England—the former by Russia. In support of absolute principles, Russia commands the north of Europe, Prussia and Austria under diplomacy, also France, with the outward shows of liberty ; she is, in fact, as despotic in principle and action as the northern powers. The imperial despotism of France, although it awed into submission and checked the daring efforts of that terrible democracy which had exhausted itself by its fearful energy and successes, left vestiges behind which from time to time spring up into destructive and

\* This was written two years before exhausted faction could no longer oppose French and Christina gold and prepare a bridge for the banished queen, and restoring, through indefatigable intrigue, French ascendancy.

fearful action ; during its short and convulsive reign it sowed the seed of its own origin too deeply in the soil of the constitution of France to be entirely eradicated. Hence the nerve and energy necessary on the part of any power whom she may raise to government on her shoulders, to cajole and intimidate her. Hence her restless and endless efforts to assert her empire by her never failing aim of violence and sedition, rendering it impossible to give a healthy tone and vigour to the representative system and constitution of modern France. The only tie which united that dangerous power with the rest of despotic Europe was legitimacy ; —that sympathy having been destroyed by the assertion of a principle of the people's election, the object of that election, the personification of that democratical power, represented by the dynasty of the house of Orleans, must necessarily be the aim and object of the northern colossus to humiliate and destroy. Louis Philippe, in his own person, was averse to the principles of Russian policy, as the visible triumph of democracy over absolutism. Her well-measured and guarded recognition did not compromise her in any future course which she might think proper to pursue ; while she gratified her own feelings of conscious power, by condescendingly bowing to the rights of others, however disinterested in the maintenance of the general tranquillity—not omitting any occasion of exhibiting her feelings, in order to give effect to them on a future fitting occasion. She

disclaims all enmity to France ; she well knows the hatred and sentiments of a faction in that country against their own creation ; she therefore risks no loss of popularity ; on the contrary, she makes the party she most detests subordinate to her own purposes ; the consequence of which is, that at any change of dynasty, she has no enemy, and may have confusion in her favour. She endeavours, as far as lays in her power, to isolate Louis Philippe with Europe,—not daring openly to oppose him,—who, in his turn, aware of the Russian cabal, despising the dagger of French liberty, so often directed at him, in vain, governs and awes both France and Germany, mocks at the autocrat, and, by great temper, baffles his wily intrigues, although tremblingly alive to their destructive tendency.

Had Russia recognised Louis Philippe in feeling as she had done in appearances, that very fact would have probably disturbed the peace and tranquillity of Europe ; and it is only her stern adherence to a principle of which she will no doubt make her own use when circumstances are favourable, which gives her that power and influence over the rest of Europe. No one knows, dreads or appreciates the value of popular power more than Russia ; it was by that she transported her armies through Germany, and carried them across the Rhine, and at the moment that she felt its energy, she took the earliest means of crushing and rendering it harmless to herself. By division she governs, by isolating the governments of Europe and the

people, she carries with her a power that may serve her in time of need, and assures to herself the courts and armies of Europe, on any great occasion that she may have for their services.

England, on the other hand, the *quasi* representative of the principle of rational liberty, offered to France all the facilities that she could, to enable her to consolidate her power. She gave her right hand to Louis Philippe, and confirmed by her ready acknowledgement his personal position. Not only did the disputed question of Algiers fall to the ground, but she combined with France more especially in separate treaties to establish the seeds of liberty in the oppressed nations of the west. England supported Louis Philippe on the principle that she had invited William of Orange to the throne; she protested against anarchy, while she acknowledged the people's right to resist bad faith and oppression. This very support, however useful in the moment of trouble and danger, ceased to be necessary and rendered Louis Philippe an object of distrust to the disappointed, insatiable, and vindictive Jacobin power which had elevated him. England offered the right hand of fellowship and friendship to a country that she thought was struggling to establish a free constitution like her own, for the purpose of cementing an alliance in the interest of mankind; but the leaven of Jacobinism and despotism was too deeply engrafted in the soil to be eradicated. France retired into a corner, dreaming over lost military pre-eminence,

and meditating on the best means of re-establishing it.

The so-called popular feeling was never so powerful as after the cessation of the struggle of 1814 and 1815, and its greatest intensity may be said to have taken place, between 1817 and 1821. Those two periods constituted the death blow and struggle between the despotic power in Europe and the immediate assertion of the popular principle. That the latter had been most ignominiously betrayed by the acts of the Congress at Vienna, there exists little or no doubt. The eloquence of a Brougham loudly echoed its indignant clamours. The progress of its wild course at home was checked by the constitution of England, then in all its vigour. France was pent up in a corner, and with her capital and cities occupied by foreign armies, was put out of the question altogether as an arbiter or even as a power. Never were the abilities and talents of the then accomplished member and ornament of the far-famed University of Oxford more severely tested than at this moment in contending with the great popular leader; and he arose with slow but resplendent ascendancy from the desperate struggle. He represented in his person the two opponents—democracy of birth and aristocracy of principle and education; and he was, to make use of an atheistical term, a “fortunate accident,” at least fortunate for the times in which he was born. He in his person represented England—because he personified the principle of her greatness: the



revolution of property, the state of distress which existed in England at that moment, consequent on a rapid transition from peace to war—the new power which had been called into action, which alone had emancipated them from Napoleon's tyranny, to which the monarchs of the Continent had bowed in their visit to the country of shopkeepers, whose "merchants are princes," the traffickers of the earth, when they accepted an invitation and were entertained on equal terms by a power which at that time was all in all to them, and which in fact saved them and their thrones—we mean the power of the people, represented by the citizens of London, who entertained the monarchs of the Continent at Guildhall, and whose wealth paid their armies, whose mines did not produce gold, but the industry of whose sons had earned it in the fair contest of commerce; and that money was placed at the disposition of their governments without reserve and without suspicion. But they, the monarchs of the Continent, soon thrust away the footstool which elevated them. Then burst out the feeling of indignation in England and Europe;—both betrayed by selfish ambition and interest,—by tyrant fears and jacobinical impatience; which latter feeling had taken the place of the just grievances of an oppressed race, who had offered their services, and sacrificed their best blood, in shaking off a despotism whose chains were intolerable, thus freeing their monarchs and themselves. It was a most dangerous period for Europe,—but it was met by

men, as it were, born for the crisis. The Premier, deeply imbued with the spirit of the age, and conversant with the powers of the English constitution, was morally the man ; and had not the mighty and more highly gifted, yet less balanced Canning, been in existence, he might have claimed the first place ; and however he might have painfully alienated a great and influential party, by a necessary cession to the progress of society and to the existing state of public feeling prevalent in the world, in admitting the question of Catholic emancipation, yet take him all in all he is the representative of England. For shortsighted men it may appear very illiberal, and for superficial politicians very inconsequent,—the idea of opposing the admission of any individual to authority, because of his religious belief, especially in this age when there is no practical belief ; but “ the Roman religion,” in its essence is incompatible with freedom either religious or political ; it is based on credulity and popular ignorance and implicit obedience to priestly authority, and its features will be evident on all occasions, in all its transactions, of whatever tendency. In the mean time, revolutionary ideas were gaining ground in England ; the popular voice there was not to be suppressed, however wrong the direction it may have taken.

Canning struggled against reform, in spite of the jealousy and hatred of the high aristocracy, and their attempt to keep him in a subordinate situation. The people were dazzled by his eloquence

and wit, and the fatal blow was awarded,—until, worn out and destroyed by their senseless pride and opposition, he sunk, and left them victims to the consequences of their own folly. The Duke of Wellington and the Premier had angered the power which had supported them, by openly condemning the opinions and consistency of the Tories on the Roman Catholic question. Reform was fanned into a sudden blaze, which on its subsiding, the Constitution, though shaken, rose phoenix-like from its ashes. The election of the energetic advocate of the rights of the people for Yorkshire was a coming event throwing its shadow before it. He was then great Harry Brougham, because he led and represented a great national impulse, until he lost himself and his power under the coronet and ermine of nobility. The tribune of the people, who stood alone in all his majesty, sunk into the restless debater—“*Vox et præterea nihil*,”—the shrill notes of whose voice echoed no longer the blasts of the great political Boreas of the Commons. The gate of entry into the sacred precincts of the Constitution of England had been forcibly rent asunder, opened as it was by the irresistible progress of the idea of the age and the zealous declamation of some enthusiastic peers, who pronounced the English people unfit judges in their own cause, and seemed to advocate the principle that no change should take place. The crisis, which the resplendent wit of Canning had protracted, was hastened by the injudicious declarations of several warm

partisans of the statu quo. But John Bull may be cajoled but never intimidated. From that hour is the decline of England's aristocratic influence to be dated. That decline may for a time be arrested, and will be so, by the combined efforts of the Conservative interest, which must in the end give way before the march of events. But should ever a line be drawn between resistance and non-resistance, and a position taken up of defiance and defence by the remnant of the band of conscientious supporters of the old constitution of England, in opposition to the inevitable progressive tendency and spirit of the day stamped on the age—in that hour will reform become revolution.

The gate once opened, it is difficult to close it against the stream. If any thing can save our country from the degeneracy and final overthrow and decay of all great monarchies, it is to be sought for in the learning, virtue and knowledge, and established religious principle, united with cultivated intellect and enlarged views, in those who are called to offices of trust and power. The times require rulers of this high moral and intellectual character. The country need such for councillors, and free institutions cannot be preserved without such guardians; some such we have, and it is their character which has saved the country; but more such, many more such, are needed, to give permanent security to those institutions with which liberty, health and safety are inseparably connected,—provided they have courage

and sagacity enough to meet the emergencies of the times, with measures adapted to new circumstances, and to carry out the yielding doctrine to a safe extent, to that extent required by the rapid progress of our development; this being a duty they owe to the world, that there should be no swerving from the line appointed, they have a right to expect that its direction should be faithfully followed.

The great sheet anchor of our liberty and the Constitution of England is the House of Lords. Its dignity must be upheld, and encroachments must not be suffered to be made on it. It is the main element of our greatness—the life-blood of the state-body; it has stemmed the wild torrent of rash and heedless innovation, and saved the country from the horrors of revolution. The independence and freedom of its members, their learning, wealth and intelligence, amenable as they are to public opinion—the press ever ready and open to expose their failings—keep them ever alive to the duties they owe to their country and themselves. The judicious and timely inoculation of so much of the popular element, as has forced itself on public notice by its merits, has saved it from the contempt and corruption into which other countries have fallen. But it is that happy infusion of the popular principle,—that goal to which men of talent have a right to look as the reward of honest industry, and time devoted to the service of their country. In other lands there is but one king—in

England there are hundreds, without the cares and without the dangers of sovereignty. The House of Lords may partake in a degree of the economy and government of the hive, where the passive and operative bees are both useful in their place. But take it all in all it is incomparable in its workings, —a noble, and, we will add, a sacred institution; and let what will happen in the course of the changes of this transitory world, may it be long ere a change takes place there, for it will be the first symptom of the decline of the glory and greatness of England.

The spirit and impatience of progress have been resisted by Austria on principle; aided in the assertion of that principle by the hearty and strenuous concurrence of Russia and her subservient ally Prussia. This movement, which has acquired at times a most fearful acceleration, has been steady and progressive, and, where obstacles have existed, has removed them by the violence of its precipitation. The prejudices and passions of men, and ancient predilections, however opposed to it at first, have all yielded in the end, and been carried away in the rapidity of its overwhelming torrent. When innovation has been resisted, violence has entered in and levelled the castles, systems, and projects of her opponents with the dust. Against this power has Austria taken the field with a most uncompromising determination to support that position which she has arrogated to herself. Powerless alone, she has been compelled to look around for help, and is



sinking, in spite of her efforts, into the arms of her remorseless, terrible neighbour and ally ; thereby paralysing her own natural position, and compromising her national independence. She has become dependent, when she sought to be arbiter, and, in the vain illusion of the moment, has sunk herself and her former hereditary influence. Not one step has she made to adapt herself to the changed aspect of the world, and Europe, in her rapid and irresistible progress, must eventually prostrate her to the ground. The very happy and apparently tranquil condition of Austria may be brought forward as an argument against our premises ;—all that goes down hill goes easy enough, so long as it does go. But causes are at work, whose deadly effects, though invisible and silent in their operation, must in a short time wholly change the aspect of the Austrian empire.

The movement communicated to the world will not be arrested by a line of frontier, or a line of policy ; and as Austria has not been able to adapt herself to that movement, she must be overwhelmed by it, in its irresistible and desolating progress. She may cry for help from afar, but that cry will only be echoed in those countries where her subjugation and ruin is already decided on ; it will be quickly responded to—and the countries of the statu quo will be overwhelmed by barbarians, already exercised and calling to their aid that very principle and movement, against which she has exhausted herself, and upon the strength of a suc-

cessful resistance to which she built her hopes of success, and proclaimed her right to mediate in the affairs of the world.

Austria, like unfortunate Poland, will fall; betrayed and mistaken in her allies, she will fall, whatever may be the struggles of her gallant army. That army, and the efforts of her nobility, will all be sacrificed to a mistaken and narrow line of policy. Let it not be said that the civilization of modern Europe will interpose a barrier against the incursions and encroachments of the northern power. The elements of resistance fell before those who were less civilized, and with inferior means of offence. The Roman empire was at unity with itself, her cohorts were the finest and best trained in the then known world;—they could not stem the irresistible flood which overwhelmed them. And what can be opposed to Russia, and where will she find resistance? From whence is the combination to spring that will offer a serious check to any movement she may think proper to commence? Hence her designs of ambition. Has the quiet, and almost imperceptible increase of her empire, caused no misgivings in the breasts of her neighbours? And have not those neighbours looked on, not only with indifference, but contributed by their active exertions and their selfish purposes, sharing in the plunder of the spoils of the neighbouring states? Has any one project opposed by Russia, since 1815, met with a check? Has she failed in carrying into effect any one pur-

pose deemed essential to the furthering and advancement of her purposes?

It is true France and England have remonstrated with her; it is true that Austria offered to march against her in 1828, when Charles X. threatened the Austrian ambassador to concentrate an army in Vienna if she dared to move, and England refused to aid Austria. What answer did she give to those remonstrances? Was it by desisting or carrying into effect her well-devised plans? It is true she halted at the gates of Constantinople, because she had not power to open them; the effect had been produced; she had displayed her strength upon the ruins of the moral power of the Mussulman. She left behind her the prestige naturally attendant on success, and annihilated future resistance, until she might deem it necessary to prosecute her terrible and ambitious projects. Her dictum has been the fiat; skilled and instructed in all the movements in the various countries, by an intriguing, acute, and well-informed diplomacy, she knows and seizes the occasion with a prescience to be wondered at, well understood by herself, but not by the slower and heavier elements opposed to her. The first thought at rising, the last at lying down of a Russian diplomatist, is his country, and that can only be understood and commanded by a despot, in unvarying and never ceasing activity; if he succeeds, he is rewarded,—if he fails, he is sunk and passed into oblivion, or driven, as was the case with the unlucky victim of

the Affghanistan intrigue, to sacrifice his life; his country's policy having thought right to disown him, when he had so faithfully served her and performed his duties. Can the diplomacy of England contend against such men? It would be a curiosity to read the dispatches of our ministers at the Foreign Office, contrasted with those of a Russian; for example—Pozzo di Borgo's dispatches. Can any thing be more characteristic, more explanatory of her position, and by what means she has gained that position? Have we men capable of coping with such adversaries, or one, perhaps, who would be employed as a clerk even in a Russian Foreign Office? The treaty of 1840 will prove our position; for had we an ambassador at Paris or Constantinople, who had had either penetration or foresight, it never could have taken place; the Russian idea would have been penetrated and frustrated.

The demise of three personages, viz., Louis Philippe, the Duke of Wellington, and the Austrian minister of Foreign Affairs, Metternich, will make a great change in the existing relations of Europe. Nicholas is a man of a stubborn, imperious character,—subordinate to the policy of his country, ready and faithful in its execution, active

\* In exception, it is scarcely necessary to mention that the names of Heytesbury, Beauvale and Stratford Canning, would be stars in the political firmament of any country; with powerful minds and great energy of character, their action was repressed by superior powers.

and intelligent in that of Europe, tolerated by his factious nobles, having nothing immediately to oppose him. If the power of individuals can be so extensive as to influence the great combinations of society, and in some degree control them, that power is inherent in those men, and the movement, which, although imperceptible, is eternally threatening a *denouement*, will receive an accelerated impulse on their disappearance from the scene of action. In England it will, perhaps, be less than in France or Austria. But it must, nevertheless, be admitted, that the Duke of Wellington is truly a great power; his mediation and conciliatory talent with refractory aristocratic influences can scarcely be appreciated on great momentous questions—thereby averting revolution. England owes more to him than any living statesman. Had a field-marshal rendered such services to any of the Continental governments, endowed with his capabilities as a statesman and soldier, their institutions must have given way—and could not have opposed resistance to the concentration of the regal and executive in his person. Witness the jealousy of Austria at the successes of Clairfayt, and of the subsequent triumphs of the Archduke Charles over the armies of France. Both the man and the Constitution of England whom he served and saved asserted their mutual power;—one in elevating the character of the man, whose ambition was confined to the conscientious performance of his duty, by which he preserved his greatness, his power and

his distinction, amidst the wreck of fallen greatnesses of the Continent ; and the other in the wonder workings of its machinery, to make everything subservient to country. England being a great constitutional government, its balance cannot be affected as would be that of France and Austria. With Louis Philippe and Metternich their systems will fall to the ground, and be scattered by the winds, for they are in their persons both the executive and controlling powers. No nerveless hand can replace them. The enemy is too near the gates, too active, and too daring, to give time for thought or deliberation. They may bequeath a system and line of policy ; but that bequest, in the hands of timid, irresolute men, will only accelerate a movement which will convert their own country and Europe into one field of battle and political confusion.\*

The Austrian monarchy, composed as it is of many different people and nations, will run great risk of falling to pieces. However the system pursued by Metternich would be impossible with the present state of society, still in his hands it may retain much of its original force and energy ; but

\* Prince Metternich, discoursing on the future probabilities of the course of European policy, is stated to have exclaimed, "*Après moi le Deluge ;*" we would ourselves rather have said, "*Après moi le feu,*" being more in accordance with sacred and profane history : in the latter of which the Prince will be, in all probability, better read than in the former. The "*Deluge*" is past, but the "*Fire*" will consume all things, even his policy, should it last its time with him.



passing into other more feeble, with no prestige of a name, such a change may have the most fatal tendency, unless a vigorous intellect should rise up—of which there is, we fear, but little chance.

The position of Austria, both internally and externally, her national independence, her weight in the affairs of Europe, will be most seriously compromised. No country possesses the elements of strength in a greater degree than Austria. She has an imperial family most amiable, exemplary, and firm,—a high spirited nobility,—a brave, loyal and devoted army,—and a quiet, orderly and happy people. Corruption is within, and there are hidden causes at work, undermining all the bases of her prosperity, consequent on the fatal changes with which they have been convulsed within the last thirty years ;—upon them, and their fatal operations and tendencies, the limits of this work do not allow us to enter. We firmly hope we may be mistaken in our conclusions. The prosperity, integrity, honour and welfare of the Austrian monarchy must be the first wish of every Englishman, for it is the only plausible and the least insincere ally that we have on the Continent. Would that Austria could be sensible of this great truth. Would that England had ministers or ambassadors who would unremittingly press and use their endeavours to forward this great and important alliance. But too much has been neglected to encourage a hope of a more desirable state of things. England, comparatively safe in her insu-

lar position, appears ignorant of the great continental value which Austria may be to her at some future, and perhaps not remote day.

The remarkable position of Prussia—the decided part which she played in the great drama of the history and consequences of the French Revolution—the prestige of the Great Frederick destroyed, with the defeat of his armies by the enthusiastic mob and Jacobins of conventional Paris,—her vacillation and interested policy in abandoning Austria to her fate—her subsequent degradation and bare escape from annihilation from the Jacobin tyrant and Emperor of France—the zeal, perseverance and devotion she manifested in following up the successes and accumulating the disasters on the devoted head of the remnant of the mighty army of Napoleon—the subsequent appropriation of conquered territory composed of those very hostile associations which conspired against and trampled on her independence—all tend to render her present position one of the most extraordinary phenomena of the day ;—legislating on, as it might be said, a revolutionary, monarchical, and despotic volcano.

The perseverance of Austria and her warlike policy, bordering on the chivalric, gave her apparently the influential place in German policy, but she really lost her empire and her power. Prussia's temporizing conduct has usurped the place of the more generous qualities of Austria. Public sympathy comes in here to clear up the darkness.

Her unsuccessful wars with revolutionary France, the conquest and degradation of her country, the silent and dignified deportment of her queen under most unexampled rigour, and wanton and tyrannical insult, far from breaking, nerved her spirit, and made her cautious at home ; and what prosperity had lost her, was regained by her noble bearing in adversity. Every heart beat at the call of the country, and every sword was drawn at the cry of independence ;—the sword of retribution would appear to have been entrusted to a Protestant country, that of desolation, illegal conquest and ambition to infidel and Romanist hands.

Prussia has no rooted support in Germany, she has no sympathy in the affections of the people, or that arising from the prestige of greatness, of long established power ; she has contrived to join, rather than to unite, and perhaps the former only in appearance, a number of small principalities, none of whom have any confidence in her strength, or respect for her authority, position, or government ; and the influence acquired by her Zollverein, that modern commercial Prometheus, will not outlive or counteract any violent or hostile action or shock from without. By means of suffocating, or rather tempering the expression of public feeling amongst the secondary states, she has contrived to annihilate the powerful influence of the press, thereby carrying out to her own disadvantage the views and intentions of a rival imperial cabinet, jealous of her influence and policy in Germany, making herself

thus unpopular and weak, where she might, under a different line of action, have made herself strong in popular power, dangerous, dictatorial and triumphant. Latterly, the vacillating and affable conduct of her zealous, talented, sincere and kind-hearted monarch, having awakened feelings of hope in the breasts of some of her most gifted and ardent literati, stimulated into sudden and premature action a feeling impatient of so long a restraint, which, alarming the court of Prussia, occasioned measures of severity to be adopted against some of the most active spirits of Germany and the Rhine ; this feeling, so long repressed, is beginning to display itself, and no longer content with collecting articles for the public from the revolutionary journals of other countries, and faithfully watching step by step their insurrections, and chronicling their results,—keeping up hope in the breasts of their compatriots, by awaiting the progress of their development, in the expectation of profiting by an explosion from without,—they seem disposed to enter into the European arena, and command a hearing and influence for their own wild theories. This we should be disposed to applaud, did we not perceive a smothered volcanic, revolutionary sentiment, of the wildest and most destructive tendency, the more dangerous from having so long slumbered—advocating opinions which, if acted on and carried out, would be subversive of their independence and national character. Policy is a new subject to the Germans, who are perfect children

in the practical applications of this science, and their deep and profound learning gives to ideas old in themselves a philosophical and theoretical character, equally alarming and impracticable.

The *Allgemeine Zeitung*, the most influential journal in Germany, and of wide and extensive circulation, latterly began to enter into this newly-aroused spirit in favour of the popular impulse, and some articles appeared which caused the hitherto jealous courts of Bavaria and Prussia to unite in procuring a change in the editorship, in which (it is reported) they succeeded effectually. The expression of public feeling, in the discussion of the *quasi* free Chambers of Munich and Dresden, have not failed to cause great uneasiness at their own and the higher courts; no favourable occasion escapes them of giving vent to feelings of the most decided distrust of their respective governments,—waiting, as the Irishman would say, the results of “perseverance and good address,” and opportunity for action. These two personages, amiable in their way, with true patriot and German hearts, but rather incongruous in their professions and acts, are what may be not inaptly termed, from the force of counteracting elements, two glorious political tyros, and that more the inevitable result of circumstances than an inherent weakness. We should be sorry to confound them in their individual character, by naming the two together, or connect them personally, any further than their action on public life compels us to do,

as great and influential agents in a complicated and widely extending sphere of German policy ; we would unwillingly say *incubus*, although a very wholesome one, in the rising development of her independence and greatness. The king of Prussia would certainly gain nothing by a comparison with the royal poetaster and picture fancier of Bavaria, whose capital, not too big for his own inordinate self-conceit and pretensions, is built out of all proportion to the size of his kingdom, at the expense, and well-doing of his subjects ; and what the all-absorbing, grasping museum and royal library spares, is remitted to the scarlet Babylonian lady of Rome, as an instalment in advance for a bill payable in heaven for past sins and misdeeds.

The Zollverein of Prussia, one of the most extraordinary and comprehensive political combinations of modern times, owed its origin to circumstances of a most peculiar nature. Napoleon, who established the continental blockade, and first saw and comprehended the enormous and gigantic power of commerce, took those means, which to him were most obvious of curtailing its limits and annihilating its influence ;—but he forgot that the country which is mistress of the ocean is mistress of the world ; that commerce was not like a besieged city ; that an investment undertaken in conformity to all the rules of war and science forbade approach and left the victim prostrate to time calculated to a moment ; that commerce was the



result, not the parent, of England's greatness ; that liberty of speech, thought, and action, were essential to the development of her greatness, the free exercise of which rendered her formidable at home, and consequently, by giving her security on so vital a point, made her enterprising abroad. The concentrated despotism of a victorious and devoted army is formidable and terrible as far as it goes, and as its numbers diminish its strength decreases. But the resources of a people on whom its greatness is founded, are annihilated by the very progress of its success. The spirit of commerce and the "*esprit militaire*," as represented in France, are incompatible ; and it is only by the subserviency of the one to the other, as a protection of its rights, that it can make a country formidable and respected, and it is that perfect subjection of the military to the civil power, consequent on a well balanced state of society in Great Britain, that makes her so powerful in all her combinations and enterprises.

The feelings entertained by Prussia of these two powers are of a most distinct nature. Of England she has an undisguised hatred and jealousy ; Austria she regards with suspicion, but with a full confidence in her own superiority, and she never omits an occasion of contrasting her own Jesuitical, superficial, and comparatively liberal measures, with the decided stationary ones of her powerful neighbour. Should France, or France and England, be brought to an understanding as

to the basis of a commercial treaty between themselves, the probable, and, we may add, almost necessary consequences would be, the accession of Holland and Belgium; because no treaty could be formed between France and England, supposing the necessary concession which would not greatly apply to either of the named countries. But at the same time that we doubt such a consummation devoutly to be wished for in the interests of humanity and civilization, there still remains the possibility of a junction hostile to England, or rather a fusion of interests in the shape of a commercial treaty between France and Belgium.

England, from the superiority of her industry, machinery and manufactures, will always be an object of fear and distrust, and she can consequently come in only as a balance to a growing commercial power that might threaten the interests of Germany;—in fact, as an inevitable necessity and last resource. In that case, Prussia becomes dependent, and loses her influence and supremacy in Germany, by being obliged to share with Austria or England, or both, that power which she now exercises alone. The extension and consolidation of the Zollverein becomes a case of vital interest with Prussia, as connected with her own existence. We have here placed the politics of Russia aside, and have treated only of those powers who are inclined or have shown any wish to approximate themselves to the liberal commercial nations of the age, and destroy the ancient, pro-

verbial and deadly feelings of neighbourhood ;—such as have been exemplified in the case of Russia and Poland, Belgium, Holland, &c., &c.

Russia remains, and must ever remain, true to her principle of dislike to unity of policy amongst the Continental powers ; she must necessarily be excluded from all combinations, characteristic of a free and commercial character. It was the ignorance of such a combination that drove Napoleon to his destruction. It was an exaggerated view of it which led to the Zollverein of Prussia, (always excepting the disgraceful and egregiously ignorant diplomacy of England), although it must be confessed it is a combination resulting from the deepest political views, and fraught with the greatest future consequences to Germany and the world. Prussia has by a bold and daring stroke taken the initiative of Austria, and supplanted her as arbiter of Germany. France, with her insatiate vanity, thought herself sufficient for herself, and that Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland would scare and frighten the world into obedience. Meantime Prussia, taking lessons of experience from the reverses of the past, by means of a commercial league has endeavored to unite under her banners a population exceeding in numbers that of her late Gallic oppressor, and confirmed her power and influence over the ceded provinces of the Rhine, by practical and combined applications of the military and commercial lever. The Zollverein has thus answered its purpose, beyond the most sanguine

anticipations of its founder. She has fortified herself at home, confirmed her influence over Germany, humiliated Austria, and made her a future and certain victim ;—combining every principality and rendering the resources of those countries subservient to her, thereby enabling her to defeat any attempt on the part of France that she may form for commercial or influential counteraction.

France, sensible of the advantages gained thus silently by Prussia, has attempted to establish a counterpoise by means of a union with Belgium and Holland. She has accidentally failed in the attempt, as she must always do, from the narrow bounds of her commercial feeling exacting every thing and yielding nothing, and with the natural fear and antipathy on the part of the latter country of her principles. However formidable the successful results of such negotiations must have been to the views entertained by the administration of our foreign policy, yet upon reflection, we are inclined to think, that such a union might have created a salutary alarm to the interests of Germany and the world. Had France succeeded in her views, or even with the likelihood of so doing, a feeling of weakness and suspicion would have been created in Germany, and would have forced that country to look to England more than she does for aid to repair the lost balance, and by that means have brought back our relations to what they ought to have been previous to the establishment of the Zollverein. The extreme poverty of the court of Ger-

many, the industrial jealousy of Great Britain, and confined views of commercial feeling, will only give way to ideas of danger coming from a quarter which has already proved itself so formidable in a military point of view, and finding that power increasing its alliance by liberal commercial regulations.

Prussia and her Zollverein must, for her own safety, look out for an ally or allies; and then England and Austria necessarily present themselves.

The position taken up by France calls for the earnest and painful attention of the friends of liberty and peace. She is becoming over petulant, snarling and offensive, and assuming a tone which will render forbearance very difficult, and inconsistent with our dignity or honour. A very influential and active party is determined on war, let the pretext be what it will; and the question is merely for us, whether she be allowed to choose her time. France and America will probably act together on the first collision of interest in either world; and, from present appearances, the cloud containing the thunder will burst on the world from one of those quarters.

The union of England with the northern powers has become inevitable, and, should they actively and cordially co-operate and combine their means, the result must be fatal to the existence of France as an individual kingdom,—her extermination from the map of the world. It is very true that the

contest may in such a case be one of armies on one side, and that of a people and an army on the other ; still the means and appliances to boot of the confederate powers of the north are of such a nature that if England put forth her military and naval power in all their strength, and only on that supposition, France must fall a prey to them,—a catastrophe which her senseless and wild fanaticism, her tiger hatred and malignant jealousy of Great Britain, will bring on her. Could the tragedy end here, it would be of but little consequence ; on the contrary, the revolutionary hydra being struck on his head and in his vitals, society might be gainers, but the dangers to civilization, consequent on such a triumph, are too numerous and too obvious to dwell upon. The vital question of the East would be solved at a blow, and Russia would ride triumphant over the storm, whose effects—while they, with hurricane violence, would sweep away all traces of civilization and liberty, —would pass over, without harm, her own barren wastes. However painful it is to contemplate such a concurrence of events, the aspect of the times is ominous of them,—and the isolation of England will be the eventual result, and for the civilized world [the most terrible *denouement* of the great problem of this century.

The undiminished efforts made by Russia to shut herself up within her own frontiers, cannot but be obvious to most observing people, for which it would not be difficult to find reasons in the pres-



tige and power which such isolation gains for her. But the light of intelligence of the age, which has spread over the European commonwealth, and is daily penetrating into its interior economy, and changing the features of the civilized world, has found its way into the dominions of the autocrat ; and Europe is likely to be convulsed by the consequences of a revolutionary movement in the very regions of Russia, as one breaking forth from the old focus of disturbance and rebellion to constituted authority in the more southern provinces of this quarter of the globe.

We could, did we deem it necessary, produce many anecdotes in confirmation of this our position. We will content ourselves with stating the facts, referring to such travellers as may have visited Russia within the last ten years, and have known and seen what she was previous to the war of national independence, for a confirmation of the presumption we have taken up. Her position becomes one of necessity, arising out of the operations of second causes fatal to her internal security, as well as being one of deep political calculation, springing from a consciousness of her own resources and national power. The hand of death, reaching the throne of Louis Philippe or Nicholas, will, without the smallest doubt, precipitate the war-like movement which is now threatening to desolate Europe. One of two combinations must necessarily grow out of a change ; either the union of France and Russia, or the *consolidation of the*

*northern power, by her union and action with those in the immediate neighbourhood.\** Germany has latterly shown a disposition to act independently, but it will require too much time to extricate her from Russianism, and to crown her efforts with success, and we do not anticipate, from our knowledge of Germany, any very permanent good likely to result to her in the end ; however persevering and meritorious her endeavours may be to bring about that result, too many bad passions are counteracting her efforts.

The state of public feeling and its reaction on society in England and France, forms at this moment one of the most remarkable phenomena of the times. In England, the spirit of party has submitted itself to the wholesome control of public opinion, acting for the good of the country and the interests of individuals ; the ambition of public leaders has given way to a stern necessity. This is one of the most visible proofs and effects of the sound workings of the constitution of England, that by whatever tempests and storms she may be assailed from without, yet in the hour of danger her foundations are too sure to be shaken ; and while despots in other countries tremble at every blast, she alone, calm and great, retains her proud position. What a melancholy contrast do we see now going on in France ! The interests of society, the peace of the world, her own existence, com-

\* The late events have given a most signal confirmation to this assertion.

promised by the wildest and most ungovernable spirit of revenge, hate, and envy. The feelings elicited during the sessions of the Chambers, and *the extreme danger of war to which they lately exposed their country by tampering with the executive*, are of too deadly and decided a character to give even a hope of a reaction, and the occasion is only wanting that she may open on Europe the flood-gates of anarchy, war, and Jacobinism. The canker worm which gnaws her heart is the great moral power and its effects exhibited in the greatness and glory of her neighbour. *Quos Deus vult perdere, prius dementat* ; and it requires no great gift of prescience to see the inevitable result, namely, a combination of Europe again, which alas ! for freedom, will sooner or later take place.

From the example set them by an English army of successful resistance in Spain, have the allies mustered courage and resolution, and arrived twice in Paris, and by the aid of an English army only will that event, in all human probability, be again possible. An active and daring combination of the naval and military power of England, will, in the case of war, bring about events, of which France, in her blind madness, little dreams. At the close of the late war, England was immeasurably superior to every country in Europe in the practical adaptation of the theory and science of war, both by sea and land. The irresistible progress of the Duke of Wellington, and his triumphs in the fields of Spain and Belgium, prove this, al-

though continental jealousy and inextinguishable French hatred affect to underrate it.

While the prudence and caution of our present Premier, in proposing the most daring and salutary remedies to meet the exigences of the times, justifies the blindest and most implicit confidence of the country; still comparatively he does not know so much the state of public feeling on the Continent: and foreseeing the eventual combination which will call forward all our energies to resist both in the cabinet and the field, we would fain wish that there was more attention, paid to raising and preparing the militia, so that a powerful reserve, if not an active army, might be at once available; and the time is fast approaching when action will be necessary, and something ought to be doing. The property tax, upon all grounds justifiable, is upon no one more so than that of *preparing us for war*. England, so close to a country showing such hostile feelings, armed to the teeth, is sleeping at her post. Setting aside the fear of invasion, (*which may be treated too lightly*), an active and offensive war ought to be the policy of England, to avoid such degrading failures as occurred in the beginning of the revolutionary war in Holland and Walcheren, and their consequent depressing influences. While our great warrior is still spared to us, let it be hoped that his attention may be awakened, and that his clear head and judgment may provide us with a suitable militia organization for the land forces of

England. Our navy is respectable enough, but we hope England may not have to regret having omitted to construct ports of refuge, and to fortify Sheerness, which our greatest naval heroes have sighed for ; and now so many years of peace have passed, and neither time nor money have been found for these great and useful national works, no delays ought any longer to retard the raising a land force. No war that ever took place in the world will bear a comparison to that which is impending, and no soldier who may have been present at the bloodiest battle of modern times, will be able to form an idea of the carnage which would arise out of a collision of any two armies of the day. Food must be had ready cooked for the cannon, and that in abundance, or the monsters will die of starvation, and become a prey to the number and voracity of the enemy. Looking at the state of society, the question always forces itself on us,—“How long can this last?” “When will the war begin?” Peace labours too visibly.

The policy of England in China must bemoorally an aggressive one, if she wishes to preserve what she already has. The English are proverbially a restless people ; it is that restlessness which has carried England to the very highest point she occupies in the scale of power. For enterprise, out of which all the wonderful commercial transactions of Great Britain spring and exist, is nothing more than restlessness, excited to a high degree. The

conquest of India by the English,\* and America by the European powers, was the result of *enterprise*, pushed beyond its natural bounds, and this is charged as robbery, with all the thousand and one different opprobrious epithets that narrow party view can invent, to vent its spleen and annoy its adversaries.

When the time arrives that England becomes

\* The late decisive and exciting events of the East, pregnant with splendid achievement and great results,—the indomitable courage, perseverance, and irresistible effect of English onset—has communicated itself to the effeminate natives of India. On first accounts being received, Europe shuddered at the thinning of her ranks, and a feeling of agonizing doubt pervaded all breasts,—in the flagrant absence of professional capacity manifested on the momentous occasion. But English and Indian courage righted all. We, who are accustomed to contemplate the deeds of days gone by, but still fresh in our memory, and somewhat inclined to be captious,—we had expected better things from generals educated in the school of Wellington. On the glaring strategical and tactical errors we will not dwell. They are universally deplored. We will console the leaders with Napoleon's words, "Those who commit the fewest errors are the greatest generals!" and they may repose on this doctrine of errors, and be thankful for their own heroic courage and that of their devoted army in extricating them,—and for the honours liberally showered on them. But we will nevertheless ask, where were the concentrated and irresistible results to be traced of cause and effect?—those of a successful and comprehensive series of military and prepared combination? Where could we record the movements and manœuvres where British force was subsidiary and not elemental? which by their own weight and power neutralized resistance,—destroying empires on the Po, Adige, and the Danube?—and those which restored it on the Douro, Tagus, Ebro, Bidapoa?—and echo, in the valley of the Suttledge, answered—where?



defensive or stationary, from that moment she will date her decline. It is the history of all empires past. All empires have a natural tendency to enlarge themselves ; it is the safety-valve of the body politic,—aggrandisement ; and in proportion to the strength of the government at home, will its operation be more or less active. This policy is not and cannot be applicable to all the kingdoms of Europe ; confusion must be its consequences ; but powers like Russia and England are placed by nature in that position—that inaction becomes death. The intense persecution of that principle proves that its truth is felt and acknowledged by these two gigantic empires, and it is that which must bring them into deadly and fatal contest, however apparently pacific and well inclined their respective statesmen may be.

The foreign policy of the country, we include that also of our colonies, &c., has in later days assumed an aspect somewhat alarming. The Canadian disturbances have blown over, while America has suspended her intrigues. The question of the boundary slumbers, like the tiger in the jungle, or a snake in the grass. The treaty of 1840 was a small hint that the Eastern question was not altogether a dead letter, and had a meaning ; yet still all things remain apparently as they were from the beginning, and any superficial politician, or influential minister, may appeal to the calm of the world as a triumphant justification of these measures, which have apparently produced this

heaven of tranquillity ; but it is said “ there is no peace for the wicked,” and can society claim an exception from this eternal fiat ? The deadliest calm, especially on those eastern seas, is the precursor of the wildest and most terrible hurricane ; and it is from the wisdom and experience only of the pilot, whose measures enable him to meet it with security, that it can be avoided or mitigated, but those precautions are scarcely discernible.

The late Foreign Secretary had all the merit of success, as far as the present is concerned ; but we must say that no self-confidence was more mistaken or more dangerous. We will not reproach him, or, in his person, the Majesty of Great Britain, by echoing the unfounded charges of connivance with foreign interests to the prejudice of those of his own country. They are calumnies, uttered in moments of political warmth and unjustifiable on any grounds. No foreign minister has shown more determination, more energy, than he has, in the service of his country. But we are compelled to add that no foreign minister’s measures could have been fraught with greater danger to its influence and independent position. But Lord Palmerston’s position is a most critical one. He was not the author of the treaty for the re-establishment of peace ; it was not under his administration of the Foreign Office that a Russian army marched to the gates and encamped under the walls of Constantinople ; the most fatal event that ever took place as affecting English influence in the politics

of Europe having for its basis the integrity of the Ottoman empire! We do not mean to defend his foreign policy; but, we ask, is England what England was before the passing of the Reform Bill? Lord Palmerston's position is very different from that of a prime minister during the war, when England successfully struggled against France,—against France in all her phases of Jacobinism, republicanism and imperialism.

Muscovite diplomacy obtained a signal advantage over that of the great powers, by gaining their consent, although unwillingly, to march an army on Constantinople in 1828. That and the treaty of 1840 were special failures in the policy of Great Britain; and as sure as the effects in the one followed its causes, so will they in the second. Russia is essentially suspicious and treacherous, and she believes nothing, the end of which she does not foresee. Russia was sure of the fall of the Egyptian, but she very little calculated on his ready submission to a handful of British sailors. The result has given her an additional motive for courting an alliance, and probably awarding the hour of collision. The seeds of disturbance have been thereby strewn through the Turkish provinces. The Christian subjects, exposed to the most galling and reiterated insults, have made government more difficult. The integrity of the Ottoman empire is more precarious than ever, and interference and consequently war is inevitable.

Religion, which is always a cloak for every thing

that is atrocious, unjust, or abominable, is brought forward to justify rebellion against constituted authority, in open defiance of its own acknowledged precepts. Between the two extremes, we are reduced to the last dilemma of intervention, for the purpose of destroying both. Two powerful causes—the rescue of the Christians, and the upholding of the Ottoman empire—are in direct hostility. Well may Lord Palmerston congratulate himself on the result of his negotiations. Turkey more than ever divided—“a house divided against itself,” &c., &c.,—France piqued and alienated.

The majesty and interests of England have been unworthily represented in her foreign policy ; she has never exercised that power of prevention and mediation which belongs exclusively to her on the Continent ; and she has become an object of suspicion and hatred and jealousy to all the powers. Her greatness has been tampered with, both at home and abroad, but it would be unjust to lay all the blame on the Foreign Office ; part is inseparable from her situation, and from the position in which a foreign English minister stands in regard to the House of Commons, as also the apathetic indifference on the part of the constituency of Great Britain to all matters regarding our foreign relations. The internal feeling of strength and rectitude of principle which makes England shrink from asserting her real position, and put forth all her power and might, which has been apparently

called for on so many occasions and allowed to pass by, has been attributed to any but the true cause, viz. a just dread of collision, and involving society in all the horrors of war, and its destroying and deplorable consequences. No country would suffer less, and we are persuaded would and could carry on a war with so little detriment to herself, and so much harm to her enemies, as England. Her shores are perhaps sufficiently protected, or at least ought to be so, to keep aggression from her soil. Her commerce is more generally diffused, but much better protected, than that of any foreign naval power; and, far from injuring her a war would most probably concentrate all again into her hands, and defy by its means, the power of the whole world combined together. War, as regards England, would put down disaffection at home, and increase it to an alarming degree on the Continent. The finances of the different courts in Europe are in a state of depression of which but a very imperfect idea can be formed, and speculation having been carried beyond its legitimate bounds, by the banking interest of the Continent, is creating a fearful but silent reaction, and its tendency must lead, at no very remote period, to national embarrassments. Austria, probably the richest in point of national resources of any country in the world, is dying in the midst of abundance. Her narrow commercial code and lavish expenditure, are daily drawing her nearer to an abyss, into which she will be precipitated, and from which

she will never perhaps be enabled to extricate herself.

The immense sacrifice of revenue which is made by Austria, in common with the other Continental monarchies, for the purpose of keeping up an army of placemen, and the difficulty of reconciling her to a serious and beneficial modification of any kind of her commercial system, from fear of this mass being thrown on society, is exposing her to great and serious loss. Russia is cutting her off, more and more, every day, from the outlet of the Black Sea, and Prussia is pressing on her with the Zollverein, and yet she is apparently unconscious of the surrounding danger and her critical position. Had England been represented as she ought to have been, and the weight of her influence thrown into the scale of the liberal portion of the people of Austria, a power might have been produced, which would have called the serious attention of the imperial court of Vienna to the inevitable necessity of the benefits of a reciprocal and free interchange of commodities, and by that means drawn closer our political relations with that state.

The only nation with whom we have a *quasi* liberal exchange of commodities is Russia. That country and Great Britain are both for a time essentially and vitally necessary to each other. And it is fortunate for the peace of the world that it is so, even though the period of its duration is uncertain. The greatest enemy to England and her



commerce is France, from jealousy, false views and juxtaposition ; and Prussia and her dependent provinces, under the denomination of Zollverein, whose prohibitive system is acquiring strength, and which will be more apparent every year. Yet in the face of such demonstrations, our legislators would endeavour to impose on the people of England a false opinion, that, by taking off a salutary tax for the protection of our agricultural interest, we shall thus be enabled to break through the line of customs, and open the foreign market *per force* to our manufacturers.

Did the limits or the purposes of this work admit of it, we could show by unexceptionable statistical returns and actual facts, that such a measure would be fraught with most serious danger to the united interests, whose happy union must ever form the greatness and glory of Great Britain—the agricultural and commercial.

The question of the corn laws is a question of the stability of the English government or constitution of England, or things as they are, or whatever other denomination may be given to the powers that be. How that constitution has worked, the actual position of England, in spite of her diplomatic errors, furnish an unerring testimony.

Shall we go out of ourselves, and, relying on foreign aid and assistance, or their intentions, peaceable intentions, caprices or policy, sacrifice our independence, and preventive position,—or rather bargain it away on the hazard of a stock

jobbing speculation, or the uncertain issue of all these joint contending interests? It is very true that it is an aristocratic question, and inseparably so ;—but what is the nature and character of that aristocracy? What is the power relatively speaking of those countries who preserve that organic constitution? Can you compare the unsettled relations of France, Belgium, Spain, and Portugal, with England, Russia, Prussia and Austria? stability with instability? The manufactures, or panders to the Moloch luxuries of England, were a mushroom plant springing out of the intense vegetation and exuberance of the soil ; and shall the prurient weed be substituted for the plant?—shall we throw out of cultivation lands, worked by the sweat of the brow of the English peasant, to enrich the Jew and speculator? Will you annihilate the labour of England, and weaken the arm of her artisan, soldier and sailor on the chances of increasing the privation and horrors of her already overloaded and neglected manufacturers and exotic population? *The Continent wants your money, but not your manufactures ; as she both grows, labours and manufactures for herself.* The money will revert into the pockets of the Silesian and Polish landed proprietor, and be spent in the gay cities and rendezvous of pleasure in the west. In return for your corn laws, she will freely give you her slavery, misery, and degradation. The millionaires will enter your landed gentry's country houses and castles, and the torch will drive them out into the

towns, when the harpies of the French Revolution of 1792 will reappear,—described so forcibly, and with so much originality and power, by M. Thiers in his opening chapters on the French Revolution.

The arguments *pro* and *con* have been exhausted on both sides.\* The figures of some well known political economists are partial and one sided, and that we have frequently heard from individuals in Germany, well informed on the subject matter in those countries, from whence they professed to have gleaned them. Whatever authority they may arrogate to themselves in England, they are considered to possess none abroad. Now the objection to be removed is that proposed by the Duke of Wellington, viz.—making the country dependent on the Continent for supplies. A noble lord attempted to answer this by alluding to the period when England stood isolated and alone against

\* “ Simple and tranquil cultivators, collected from every part of the world, would easily agree that every one should be free to sell the superfluity of his own corn to his neighbour, and that every law contrary to it is both inhuman and absurd ; that the value of money, being the representative of commodities, ought no more to be tampered with than the produce of the earth ; that the father of a family should be master in his own house ; that religion should collect men together, to unite them in kindness and friendship, and not to make them fanatics and persecutors ; and that *those who labour ought not to be deprived of the fruits of their industry, to endow superstition and idleness.* In the course of an hour thirty laws of this description, all of a nature beneficial to mankind, would be unanimously agreed to.”—*Voltaire.*

confederated Europe ; talking, with his wonted eloquence, about “an iron-bound coast, pulsations, &c. of that mighty heart, whose vibrations were felt at the extremities of Europe.” Does the cidevant advocate of the people forget that the pulsations of despotism, however strong they may beat at the heart, are weak at the extremities,—that the violent stimulants, necessary to keep it in action, produce langour, paralysis and death in those parts,—that at the period to which he alludes both governments were heart and soul with us,—that now those same powers are secretly and deadly hostile to us, *especially the people*. Let him reflect on the enormous military establishments, and consequent and necessary accumulation of magazines to support them in case of war,—what strong prohibitory measures would be resorted to by these Continental governments in self-defence to prevent exportation, effectually seconded by the animus of their subjects ;—let him reflect how subservient these same governments are to the Jew or monied power, enthroned in every capital in the world, but more especially in those of Germany, Russia and the Polish provinces, seated on the sources of the great arterial rivers of the world, and swarming on their coasts, commanding all the communications and divergencies, consolidating and concentrating their power, extending their influences, slowly, deliberately, measuredly and surely, with ramifications spreading and embracing every social, political and governmental element. They shall inherit the “riches

of the Gentiles.” Those who run may read—and amidst the confusion which must inevitably ensue on the present accelerated rate of human progress,—her agonizing poverty, the death struggles of a selfish and absorbing wealth to preserve supremacy, all point to an hour of confusion and darkness from whence only the light of the gathering will arise ; and on the mountains of reclaimed Judea the groans of the faithful and sighs of suffering millions may be avenged. A monopoly of corn in such hands will control, in the most dangerous manner, the action and deliberation of the executives of the Continental governments.

The eventual well-doing of the country and stability of the Premier’s administration depend on three things :—1st. The keeping up the spirit of the English Constitution by resistance to clamour, and the principle of out-door legislation, interfering with freedom of deliberation, and making the House of Commons delegate. 2nd. The permanence of the property tax. 3rd. Resistance, *in limine*, to any further change in the corn laws.\*

\* This, as has been already stated, was written at the inauguration of the Peel power. We claim some credit for our prescience with regard to its fall and the conditions of its existence. We ourselves have kept within certain limits, and confined our prognostications to the political action and tendency of the course of human events under ordinary circumstances and their inevitable results. We even reserved the full expression of our convictions in deference to the prevailing idea of the day—of the political supremacy of a certain class of ideas ; but we could not foresee a widely diffused famine of a most significant nature—“ the locust and the caterpillar

“It is better to meet danger than to wait for it. He that is on a lee shore and foresees a hurricane,

sent amongst them”—the all-grasping and absorbing railway—the tyrannical combination of money and wealth and its too fatal success—the destruction of the industrious, quiet, contented middle man, and its encroachment on and contest with the aristocracy of the land—the struggle for supremacy of that merciless Moloch of monopoly over every competitor. Our ideas (as we before stated) were for ordinary times. The power of a King of the Jews—Rothschild—we saw gathering strength in the natural march of human events; and pardon us, if unscriptural, but the enthronization of a King Shareholder, like the Persian adoration of the sun, we confess had exceeded our ideas of the idolatry of the day,—subservient, base, and grovelling as it is,—and of its capabilities and even its permissibilities in a country calling itself Christian. The corn laws abrogated themselves, and sealed their own doom. They were swept away in spite of man, minister and party. But this makes nothing against our argument; for, as things were, we still do maintain that the coast of Italy, and that of the Adriatic, Southern Russia, Hungary or Poland, and even Silesia, could under favourable circumstances of an ordinary good harvest in either *one* of the above-named places supply and make good the deficiency of the wonted produce in any one Continental country. We will further say that the whole tendency of Continental policy during the composition of this work—before and up to this moment—has been, is, and will be—the isolation of England; detaching her from France—that is to say, if their policy was ever compatible—and making her subservient to northern policy; and our motto is now, as it was then, “England to thyself be true.”

The opponents of corn law repeal would be right in the usual succession of the seasons, but our forebodings are that this famine and universal agonizing distress is but in its commencement, and that it will be much more generally diffused. “Famines in divers places”—“men’s hearts failing them for fear”—“but these are only the beginnings of troubles”—appear to be in due course of accomplishment.



stands out to sea, and encounters a storm to avoid a shipwreck. And thus the legislator, who meets some evils, half subdues them. In the grievous dearth that visited the land of Egypt, Joseph forestalled the evil, and adopted measures that proclaimed to the nation, 'You shall not feast in order that you may not fast, and although you must submit to a scarcity you shall not endure a famine.' And those very persons who have been decried by short-sighted reasoners in this country, as regraters and monopolizers, are in times of real deficiency the actual Josephs of the land. Like the præstolatoes in the camp of the Romans, they spy out the nakedness of the land, before the main body are advised of it, and, by raising the price of the commodity, take the only means to ensure an economy in the use of it."\*

The profligacy and vice of governments and individuals are both combining to produce their unhallowed effects. Turning back to history we generally and universally find, that pecuniary deficiencies and the difficulty of raising supplies to meet extraordinary, and afterwards ordinary emergencies, have invariably led to oppression, and its concomitant circumstances of rebellion and resistance, qualified more or less by the extent of the injustice inflicted on the aggrieved party. Taxation is the weapon in the hands of the governing power, for the production of good and prevention of evil, and in fact the measure of its power. Public credit is the great arsenal from which mo-

\* *Lacon.*

narch and government draw their means of existence and power,—of offence and of defence. It is the greatest and most portentous production of the artificial state of society of modern times ; its bounds are only defined by the security and stability of government ; its reaction and action on the great mass of the social system will be in proportion to the security, stability and fluctuation of the public feeling of its separate component parts.

The great causes which are in secret and incessant operation, and must ultimately tend to bring into collision the present elements of society with its various component parts, and produce the usual effects consequent on such violent shocks, may be classed under three heads :—first, the exaltation of the human mind, its restlessness and revolutionary tendency ;—secondly, the action of the despotic, or conservative principle ;—and thirdly, the financial position of the various states composing the European commonwealth. The two first are too nearly balanced, too watchful of each other's motions, to render likely any immediate disturbance from their collision or counteraction. They have appeared on the field together, under various circumstances of success ; and the result has been to give both parties an accurate measure of their relative powers, and a cautious, watchful and conciliatory policy has been the necessary and wholesome result, beneficial to the world, and to society at large. The third, and most important, watches most intensely and preserves the present harmony ;

cowardly, sensitive and yielding, and, by throwing into the balance of the other parties its powerful influences, procrastinates that contest with which the Continent is hourly threatened.

The monied interest, or what in modern days is termed the *noblesse financière*, struggling for place amongst that of the land, and in unhallowed league with them against obtrusive poverty, is preparing unconsciously, and, we may add, precipitating society into a vortex, from which only it can rescue itself by means of one of the most dangerous, diffusive, and comprehensive convulsions that ever shook the world. Steam and the railroad, glorious and beneficial as they appear on the superficial view of their workings, will be accelerating and subordinate agents. Legislation in civilized countries, at war with those whom God has declared shall “never cease out of the land,” with whom the question in Europe is, not how the needy are to be provided for, by the means which Providence has been lavish in bestowing on more favoured classes, but how they are to be got rid of. In England, Belgium and Prussia, this portentous question comes home close to the doors of wealth and government;—in Spain, the stand so long made by Don Carlos was owing entirely to the effectual support he received from a peasantry who were pauperized, famished, and degraded by the revolution,—who then took their share (on its success) of suffering amongst their fellows in other countries. Commercial and landed wealth in

deadly contest foresee the demands and encroachments of the pertinacious enemy. The latter will be forced into the field by the course of legislation, which, in proposing inadequate remedies, is ignorant how to meet, or dares not face the difficulties and coming events,—dreaming, we are afraid, of the days of ancient serfage. In Paris, the land of revolution, we saw, not long ago, “Establishments for making soup out of oatmeal and horseflesh.” Everywhere, even amongst the higher classes, numbers are increasing, without any apparent prospect of provision for the younger branches. Some great scheme of emigration, or some awful scourge either of war or pestilence, will be alone capable of solving the intricate problem. The line of demarcation between rich and poor becomes more defined every day; a “bold peasantry, its country’s pride,” as Goldsmith truly and beautifully says, is becoming more and more a dream, a thing of the past. Education has not caused it, but education has taught people to inquire and criticise more clearly the relative duties of rich and poor; it has made them forbearing, but sullen; it has checked violent outbreaks, but it has taught them, alas! combination, and to watch the progress of events, and await the hour of decision. Churches are building by wealthy proprietors, as a means of protection, and giving a readier access to the destitute million, for the purpose of teaching them to suffer religiously. Education committees are forming,—but upon whom is education to do its work?—upon grown

up individuals, brought up under the sting of poverty, and its reproach and suffering. The feelings of the fathers will be inherited by a famishing progeny. The great and never ceasing movement in progress will not wait long enough for the improved feelings generated by religion and education to be apparent in a future generation,—man's heart has been too long hardened. The evil is deep rooted, and we fear not to be eradicated. The exaltation of an excited race, peculiarly characteristic of the age, will find its vent before the means of tempering it are at hand. Emigration or war—social war,—the most deadly, dreadful and impairing contest that can take place in the world, will solve the great dilemma, without the catastrophe be averted by extraordinary legislative exertion. The line of demarcation between rich and poor becomes wider every day—luxury increasing, or a calculated Epicurean measure of enjoyment, in the presence of racking want. This awful and comprehensive subject would exceed our limits, and we satisfy ourselves with a slight allusion to a dark, solemn, and undefined future, pregnant with great events.

The whole social state of the world is giving evidence of the grounds upon which it rests for stability. A spirit of inquiry is abroad. Truth is searching out the foundations, and all the various sects, whether religious, moral or political, are seeking assistance, alliance and strength, to maintain their own positions and to resist the attacks from without. The struggle of Russia with the con-

sciences of men,—her attack on Romanism,—the question of the mixed marriages agitated by Prince Metternich, a wretched political manœuvre, as a set off against the attack of the Greek Church, or the Roman, and a sort of counter-blow at the supremacy of Russia in Germany,—the bishops of Cologne and Posen's controversies, and their bold resistance to the authority to which they owe their allegiance,—prove the fears they entertain of this great power, Truth, who will not be denied. Her progress is searching and irresistible. All the powers of wit and mischief, aware of her dreaded approach, are concentrating their forces, and looking round for support, wherever it can be found, that they may protect themselves against her deadly attacks. Rome has again taken the field, in order to assert her old supremacy, and the rapid march of proselytism going on throughout Europe, and especially in free and enlightened England, is a sufficient proof of her fears, and quick sense of the danger which menaces her, and her successful temporary exertions to counteract it; affording also a melancholy example of the inconsistency and depravity of men's minds in this age of self-styled liberality and reason. They will bring down to their tribunal the God of heaven to judgment, and, rejecting the light of which the most perfect illustration has been afforded them of their own position in the world,—surrender their consciences to the dictates of darkness and idolatry. The very attack of this dreaded power, Truth, has



forced them to new inventions ; they may retard her progress and their downfall, but never baffle or defeat her ; rejecting as she does, with scorn and disdain, the so-called spirit of free and infidel inquiry ; and, on the other, the daring attempt made by Romanism to enslave the human mind, and controul its aspirations. She mocks at all their efforts, and shows them that their buildings are but on sand ; all that is not based on her principle is going down with a rapidity not to be checked. Hence the uneasiness and restlessness which pervaded the whole frame of the social state, and their eager anxieties for alliances which offer greater means of defence to save them from her searching powers and their inevitable destruction.

The great power which the Reformation recalled into existence, proclaimed obedience to constituted authority, but asserted individual freedom of conscience. Against that power, in these latter days, have the Roman and Greek Church taken up a position,— not only of defence, but most open and daring defiance ; and to show the abuse of religion, and to what *purposes* it is applied, the emperor of Russia lately threatened to confiscate the estates of a Russian prince for becoming Catholic, and allowing his children to be educated in the principles of the Roman Church. In another Russian count, who was a Protestant, and employed at Rome in her service, having cast off the religion of freedom, to impose on himself the shackles of Romanism,— this act was applauded by the emperor as the

effect of conscientious conviction; but the former conversion of Greekism to Romanism was visited with the heaviest penalty and punishment that imperial authority could inflict. We have made this digression to show in what way and by what means the Russian power is making itself felt,—and with how watchful an eye she foresees and conquers every difficulty which may impede her progress and disturb her unity, and how sensitively alive she is to the efforts, though silent yet sure, of that great enemy to all abuses,—of that friend to liberty of thought and action,—the above-named power,—Truth.

The present state of religion in the world exhibits one of the most remarkable, characteristic and conclusive signs of the times. As a great political engine its value is acknowledged by the most sceptical;—as a great political engine it is worked. The deep, uncompromising feeling of the dark ages, when religion acted on the multitude with such intensity, no longer exists; when the burning stake served only to increase the vehemence and the ardour of the suffering victim,—when hell rioted with delight at the prostration and degradation of the name of Christianity,—when it was almost extinguished by an accumulation of its own actual horrors,—and a practical perversion of every doctrine recommended by its Author.

The light of Truth, known under the name of Reformation, burst out like a blazing meteor in the midst of a troubled sky,—or rather, perhaps, like

a pure and lovely firmament, whose light and beauty had been hidden or obscured by a dark and shadowy atmosphere, but whose bright and native effulgence broke through the awful mist in which the world was involved. This revolution, the greatest of all revolutions, was imperceptible, but wonderful and rapid in its progress ; the human understanding could no longer be confined in the grossness of papal ceremonies, and hastened to proclaim its independence, and throw off the shackles which ignorance, bigotry and superstition had imposed upon it for so long a period. Its success and progress were irresistible, so long as the spirit which animated its promoters in the first onset was pure and disinterested ; inflamed by success, the great original idea was lost sight of, and its votaries fell victims to their own abuse and misconception of the power which had elevated them. Luther's progress—an interpid champion of Truth—was irresistible ; the mists of error dispersed before him, and he arose alone triumphant—and, as a simple monk, defied the greatest power, both temporal and spiritual, of modern times. Luther with the Bible conquered hosts—"The solitary monk who shook the world." Where exists another example of such a victory ? His power was like the light in the hand of a man, against thousands groping in the dark ;—but elated by success, his followers, forgetting to what they owed their superiority, suffered the spirit of the world, jealousies and rivalries to enter on the scene, and they were

abandoned, in common with those whose doctrines they condemned ; whilst their own conduct ceased to form a practical illustration of the power to which they owed their distinction and success. The arms of the great enemy was fast annihilating resistance, when a timely and providential interference,—the northern king,—saved the remnant, and opened the way, through despotism and bigotry, for the entrance of the light of Truth.

The mission of Sweden was similar to that of England in modern days,—the prevention of the subjugation of a whole world to Austrian oppression, and dark religious fanaticism, in the first instance, and that of latter times to the new and iron despotism of an uncompromising democracy, imperial and military subjugation and reckless infidelity. The sword, in so sacred a cause, was intrusted to Protestant hands in both cases, and success was as complete as it was well merited, by the disinterested zeal exhibited by the leading and stirring parties. The first rallied and united the disheartened members of the great Protestant community : the second raised into an overwhelming movement the fallen fortunes and prostrate powers of the groaning European commonwealth. The result to the world in both instances was a return to a more wholesome state of things, and peace, with many of her blessings, followed in the train of war and desolation. The power of Romanism was broken in both instances, her influence weakened abroad, and hard blows dealt to her at home. And to less observing and

reflecting minds, there were moments, when perhaps its annihilation might have seemed apparently easy and at hand. We are not disposed to agree with many authorities in the idea, that had not the foot of the Swede slipped at Nuremberg, Romanism would have been driven beyond the mountains of Germany. On the contrary, judging from history and the well known spirit of that religion, its toleration was favourable to the stability of the Protestantism of the following generation. In those days, although beaten down, she was still capable of a desperate energy ; and an appeal, in her extreme distress, to the monarchs acknowledging her sway, would not have been in vain. The snake was scotched judiciously, when an attempt at annihilation might have given him a fearful reaction. Much has been advanced in modern times, as to what England ought to have done ; she was quite right in doing nothing openly against Romanism in the spirit of religious resistance by intrigue or combination of force. Napoleon, over whom religion had no controlling power, went as far as was consistent with safety to dethrone Romanism and treat with Protestantism, and would have gone still further, had he not seen reasons, which compelled him to court her aid and abstain from attempting her annihilation which he had contemplated.

The sword may be employed against oppression, but never in forwarding the progress of Christianity in this world. An army, to carry forward the banner of religious freedom, must be composed of

very different materials than that of which modern armies are made up. The sword may serve the worldly interests of mankind, and establish or ensure temporal dominion; but the weapons of that sacred cause are of another nature and force. Austria aimed at the extirpation of Protestantism, as an insuperable obstacle to the realization of her plans of universal monarchy. Napoleon courted Romanism in his later days for the same end,—as a useful abettor of despotism and slavery.

Could we be pardoned a prophetic digression, we might be tempted to be presumptuous enough to venture on one;—viz.—the destruction of the great systems in Europe, discarding altogether the narrow question of the boundaries of kingdoms,—and say, that the first power which will be destroyed, in our apprehension, will be the Ottoman,—the second, the Papal,—the third, the Greek,—and the fourth, the Church of England. The great moral power enjoyed and exercised in England is acknowledged in all lands. The rising power of Russia and Prussia on the other hand, the stationary state of France, and the decline of Austria and Turkey, must be self-evident to the narrowest minded and least observant politician. We see the open attacks of Russia as head of the Greek Church, and the unceasing and uncompromising attacks on its rival, the head of the Latin Church. The contest of the latter, and her daring aggressions and pretensions, and love and zeal of proselytism, remain undiminished, and in late years have attained signal success: the



converts to Catholicism are numerous, every day increasing, and gaining ground. The amiable Jesuitism of the King of Prussia, endeavouring to reconcile impossibilities, and make contrarieties meet, rather favours than obstructs the advance of proselytism ; and here Austria feels her power and presses him on his weakest side. In England, proselytism and dissent are tearing to pieces the Church of England, and she is increasing her exertions, in order to maintain herself against the inquiring spirit of the age, struggling hard, but we think ineffectually, and but feebly supported by a temperate party in her own bosom, denominated the Evangelical. France we put out of the case ; she is, what in these days is universally termed highly enlightened, being Infidel, Catholic, Turk or Greek, or any thing that may favour her design of conquest and aggression. Spain, Portugal, and Italy, are exhausted soils, and show few symptoms of recovery.

The great religious educational question, now rendering uneasy, if not, in Catholic countries, fiercely agitating all the governments of Europe, where free discussion is allowed, and where religion justly asserts her right of exclusive control and supreme dominion over the education of the rising generation, gains ground every day in interest and threatens to involve the world in a warm contest once more of ecclesiastical and lay polemics eventually,—if not one of the sword. The churchman is in principle right; he cannot, dare not compromise

nor give up one iota of his title to exclusive educational superintendence.

The struggle, now at its height, began in France at the period of the sixteenth century, when the university enjoyed its highest privileges, then the centre and focus of all that was great, liberal, and enlightened. All Europe sent their sons to the university of Paris, in its zenith of glory, and received them back instructed, refined, and enlightened. Thus a proportionable increase of French influence was transmitted to those countries whence the students came. The Jesuit, upon a system of cheap education, crept into the different families in France, and sapped the foundation of that system which had been so glorious to her, both at home and abroad. The university alarmed, began to question a right, assumed by this new and insidious sect, as it found its influence daily diminishing. The struggle continued with varied success, until the period of the French Revolution, when the university again appeared in the field, and prevailed, under a changed and afterwards more settled order of things, in rejecting all religious controul. Monarchs must always see their interests most seriously menaced by any principle that displaces the Church, which is in fact their elemental support; but the infidel ideas, *soi disant* enlightened, compel them to attempt a compromise, for the purpose of neutralizing their hostile tendencies, but which is, in truth, impossible. This incompatibility is one of the chief sources of

weakness and discord in the great Catholic countries of the West.

An alliance with the pope is what they, in watchful fear of their subjects, disclaim; but to attain which, all their most strenuous efforts are secretly directed. Napoleon and Louis Philippe both felt and appreciated the strength of the Church, but the power which elevated them was contradictory, and deadly inimical to the supremacy of the spiritual, which they secretly evoked: no satisfactory issue is probable;—the struggle must be eternal or have a sanguinary *denouement*. In Austria and Russia, essentially despotic countries, especially the former, education is universally diffused under ecclesiastical superintendence; the power of the Church, unaffected by external influences, and identified with the state, is one of the great sources and conditions of their unity and strength. The freedom of conscience being asserted by liberal governments, brought them in violent contact with the principle of infallibility. In those countries, where the Reformation had neither penetrated, nor even been tolerated, but had been opposed with all their might, every step made in advance brought the state in contact with the Church. The Church of Rome being “infallible,” could not contradict itself; and what they had pronounced right, could not, by any process of reasoning, become in its policy wrong.

In England the question presented itself, but remains unsettled, and must necessarily so re-

main. The state cannot abdicate its union with the Church; *which so much vaunted union, we think, becomes every day more and more embarrassing, and must, in course of time, give way to sounder ideas, to their mutual advantage*,—presenting also the same difficulties, but admitting of an apparent easier solution,—from the freedom of conscience, and the existence of religious toleration. The great religious sects have shown a determination of non-interference; they resisted all the pretensions of the English churchman, so that the system of a national education on state principles fell to the ground; although the government proposition was, as regarded the great question of her Church supremacy, based on principles of reason and conciliation. A system of governmental and universal application is more probable in Prussia, from the strong feeling of rationality and religious indifference pervading that country, and entering, more or less, in all its combinations of civil or clerical government,—there the experiment may undergo a safe trial.

Those kingdoms who admitted the principle, and negotiated with the Reformation, have not been so shaken by the storms of the nineteenth century as those who, *in limine*, resisted her, or who, being compelled to admit her pretensions, afterwards broke faith with her; such as France, Italy, &c.; yet with all these advantages, they have misconceived the principle of education, in separating from that to which they owed their distinctive pre-

eminence ; this untoward neglect alone precludes the prospect of settled government, or temperate reform, and of placing the education of youth in the hands from which it ought never to have been severed,—namely, the Church. Italy, whence the Reformation was so thoroughly excluded, benumbed both in thought and action, has no principle of resistance—no vitality or elasticity ; she remains abject and dependent, and her Papist education sadly causative and indicative of her debased and dependent position. Spain, proceeding in a spirit of reckless and ruthless robbery, after a wholesale spoliation of Church property, and dishonest appropriation, cannot infuse energy or vigour into government ; all this emanating from neglect of that enlightened means of elevating the people. One moment contending with, at another calling in the aid of that very Church whose authority she had shaken off. In France the question is most serious, for the leaven of revolution and scepticism there presents insuperable difficulties, and their compromise is impracticable ; a philosophic and enlightened solution will result in the spread and confirmation of latitudinarianism and infidelity. In Belgium, and, we may add, in France, the Church has gained strength, and has ventured to define her right even at the foot of the throne ; but the governments of the day, surrounded by difficulties, and embarrassed how to escape their consideration, can only arrive at their end by self-reform, and filling the pulpit with

truth, eloquence and religion, and thereby bring about a change in men's minds, favourable to the supremacy of religion ; these are the means whereby to direct the rising generation into the right path.

A plan of national education becomes difficult, from its interference with men's consciences, especially in constitutional countries, and the efforts of government to govern insidiously through other influence than what they proclaim. The university, versed and accomplished in the philosophy of the age, and showy in intellectual power,—in studying history, and tracing effects to their causes, points out to an inquiring generation the mischiefs and evils of an ecclesiastical dominion. Statesmen meditate on the results of priestly power. Ecclesiastical dominion is of all the most odious, and merciless, and hypocritical, besides being in contradiction with itself. The statesman sees, in the efforts of the churchman, ambition under the guise of religion ; he sees him intolerant and impracticable,—he finds him always asserting his proud pretensions to enrol everything under the banner of God's vicegerent on earth,—to propound dangerous and arrogant doctrines, for the purpose of enchaining human reason on every fitting occasion. He even can point out the infatuation of the churchman, who, in being militant and temporal, abdicates power, and becomes weak and contemptible. The Church of the world, under its several denominations, is but a rank weed in the garden



of Christianity ; the “remnant” spoken of in Scripture will probably be found scattered amongst its several denominations. The Church, deeply imbued with the spirit of the world, hates the university for exposing her nakedness ; the university hates the Church for her professions, which her practice contradicts. There is an inherent disgust to falsehood in the human mind, however great its innate depravity may be ; the efforts of Rome to feed and cherish the deadly weeds of corruption, by pandering to the worst appetites of our nature, and excusing their profligacy, were destined to meet with an overthrow from the innate, intuitive feeling of right,—which can never be eradicated from the human breast. However strong inborn sin may be, still there exists a perception of its evil ; and this sentiment, though smothered for a time, will at length manifest its elasticity and its power. The statesman revolts at any system of education that excludes religion,—which, as taught by the churchman, contradicts the views and pretensions of the university. The churchman seeks to seat himself in the chair of the university to conquer power ; the university desires to eject him, as obnoxious to public opinion, with pretensions offensive to social progress.

The habits, practices, and studies, of the classes, both in France and Germany, in religious matters, are the most free and independent. Every species of “free thinking,” duelling, debauchery, is carried on to an extent of which a conception can

scarcely be formed,—the world, prematurely exhibited in all its worst and most exaggerated features of libertinism and independence.

The English universities, although themselves in education hugely defective, still opinion exercises over them a certain moral restraint, arising from these seats being imbued with a purer theology, as well as on account of the balancing traditional tendencies of the aristocratic element, so strongly grafted on them. The spirit of the age of Francis of France predominates in the German universities. Duelling is regularly organised. We heard,—in fact, happened to be on the spot,—when a young man of one of the most distinguished families was killed in the afternoon, buried in secret at night, and no inquiry instituted. Theology and infidelity and scepticism show themselves in their discordant, hideous features. This deadly quarrel between the university and the Church gains ground, and threatens to burst out in all the exaggeration of the wildest and most ungovernable of the human passions, as they come into inevitable collision.

In Roman Catholic countries, all difference of opinion on the part of the laity is sin and rebellion, and they, the governments who acknowledge the faith of Romanism, truly contradict themselves when they encourage an opposite mode of thinking. The clergy, in justice and truth, say to the university, in teaching astronomy, geology, and other sciences, according to your modern systems, you

undermine all faith in revealed religion. The university replies with equal force, we teach the truth as it is developed by recent discoveries, but it is you who bring religion into disrepute by your intolerance, bigotry, and superstition, by the gross absurdities you have annexed to its devotions and formalities. You forbid us to read Scripture, because it says "My kingdom is not of this world." God's tribute, and Cæsar's tribute,—a word to the wise, and those who ought to understand,—statecraft and priestcraft,—the lust of power, avarice and ambition,—and all those contending influences in fierce but secret contention, themselves the idol and mankind the sacrifice,—a compromise and division of spoil is impossible. True only to themselves and false to their confiders,—true to falsehood, and false to truth,—the doctrine of the Founder of Christianity, so sane, so comprehensive,—were it carried out to its legitimate extent how beautiful!—is made an excuse in a contest for supremacy. The "simplicity which is in Christ" is too pure for the stimulated constitutions of aspiring philosophy. The Latin poet well says, "*Gaudere plausu sui theatri.*" Abide by the spirit of the Gospel injunction; much misery would be saved to themselves and the world by its observance. Let the Church be Church in all. Let the State be State in all. Let a benignant, wise and merciful religion elevate by its spiritual and salutary admonitions the tone of morality of those upright and independent governments who have energy and good sense

enough to despise the curses of the Council of Trent. We cannot do better than quote the inspired words of Scripture on the paramount influence of religious control. "And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up ; and thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes."

The troubled atmosphere and almost midnight darkness with which Roman despotism and her ruthless bigotry lowered over those kingdoms obedient to her sway and subservient to her tyrannical rule and superstitious rites—where supreme and controlled in her authority over mental exertion she engaged to chain down reason, liberty and conscience—was partially dispelled by a terrible and sweeping deluge of revolution and atheism gathering with the ebb and flow of its action streams of blood wherewith to deluge Christianity and the world. While an angel of darkness withered her benighted countries with an exorcism of dæmoniacal infidelity—Italy, Spain, Portugal and the Rhine countries—royal France of Holy Alliance creation—Austria and Belgium, footstools of her power, and characteristic representatives in their social condition of her influences, and melancholy examples of her demoralizing tendencies—Ireland, restless, bigoted Catholic Ireland—the heart sickens at the thought of this terrible perversion of intel-

lect and human reason in the nineteenth century at the shrine of credulity and superstition, turning light into darkness—a chaos of Greekism, Romanism, French philosophy and North German rationalism ;—the rays of this French revolutionary sun of licence and irreligion, bigotry and tyranny, glared luridly on a world of moral and intellectual darkness, to shine only on the prostration of man's independence and his social degradation. Christ and the fishermen of Galilee—the *Logos* which defied the array of might, majesty and dominion of Roman power—whose humble and unassuming birth a star in the heavens announced to Eastern wisdom—the *Logos* which hurled defiance and denounced destruction and desolation to the enthroned powers of atheism, heathenism, licentiousness and corruption in the height of their meridian glory—how triumphant, how terrible in its results, as contrasting with its tranquil annunciation. The earthquake which shook the rock of Calvary, extended its rent to the heart of Roman power and influence, and its Pantheon fabric crumbled into atoms, until a succession of judgments, foretold by prophetic inspiration, accomplished the terrible mandate of annihilation ordained by righteousness. War followed war, and plague followed plague, with but transient and uneasy moments of feverish repose. Provinces and cities fell in rapid succession, unanswerable attestations of recorded judgments. Attila—Mahomet—epochs—periods—history in a name—personifications of the powers and

majesty of darkness—ye stamped the earth, and impregnated it with your dæmon virtues; all nature prostrated itself before you, and apparently suspended its action. The barriers erected by civilization, arts, and sciences, fell down at your omnipotent word; ye summoned into life under the besom of destruction a new world. Europe, Asia, Africa, emitted false lights to delude mankind—an *ignis fatuis* of barbarism and intolerance. Still ye left a name, not to be obliterated, on a wondering and groaning society. The eternal *Logos*, with the glorious promise, was still invincible in its design, to establish the freedom of the spirit and the dignity of man. Charlemagne's ominous and almost prophetic gift of the iron crown to Church-ridden Italy—the symbol and *memento* of despotism—an idea penetrating into future ages, and appealed to on every occasion that her crowned tyrants are called on to swear to the principle contained in this significant diadem. The double and ruthless tyrant, ecclesiastical and lay, combined their mutual efforts to the subjugation of freedom of thought, action and conscience in this devoted land—"burning the candle at both ends." Time progresses with its manifest indications of power, and brings us imperceptibly to an age of infidelity succeeding one of a debauched and corrupt feudality, the child and offspring of its errors and crimes. Cromwell, the chastener of feudal insolence and abuse—Charles the Second, a short lived profligate, a secret disciple of Romanism, vainly



endeavouring to restore it and the confessional—his succession again swept away by a Protestant revolution, calmly effected in the progress of society and interest of humanity. Louis the Fourteenth of France, an audacious, reckless, and irresponsible tyrant, bequeathed an empire and succession of woe and fatal inheritance of unexpiated crimes and blood to his doomed progeny, whose place a meteor of passing brilliancy usurped—a momentary and denounced change. Legitimacy again appears, and disappears to attest the right of retribution's undeniable fiat.

The Apollyon power, on the northern extremity of Europe, with a population amounting to the number of that of the whole of Germany, impregnable at home, exercising an influence on European society which no power ever before possessed—a nation commanding all the elements of conquest, a devoted and enthusiastic race of men and barbarians, concealing her designs and intentions under the mask of the profession of the brightest virtues—so well calculating her own means of annoyance and defence that she risks failure nowhere, by any rash attempts at open conquest or ambition ;—this nation, whose greatness is acknowledged by Europe, has managed, by means of a highly refined diplomacy, to blind society to her designs, and is making a progress, though silent, yet sure, and forwarding preparations of such a nature as to annihilate resistance, from whatever quarter it may come, by showing the utter hopelessness of success—while

attention and suspicion is directed to the quarter from whence alarm and danger first sprung. The kingdoms of Europe remain blind to the proceedings of this terrible neighbour, whose blow where she strikes will be as fatal and irresistible as it was prepared in silence, with steady calculation of the nature of the resisting elements and the means of overcoming them.

Russia's influence over Europe dated from the time she successfully repelled French invasion, and, with the assistance of the oppressed nations of Europe, subjugated the dæmon of military despotism to the laws of the established powers of the Continent, and drove him back within their legitimate bounds. Europe became too narrow a sphere for the exercise of her influence, and she extended it at once over the two continents. Prussia is the moon of Russia, a reflection of her power, of whom Sweden and Denmark are mere satellites—nought is left them but obedience. The so called power of the people on the Continent of Europe is become a mere phantom of the imagination ; its noise may serve to answer factious or despotic purposes, but its reality exists nowhere.

The Carbonari of Italy—the Illuminati of Germany—Chartism, perhaps of all the most formidable from the greatest pressure of want in England, although inferior in degree to that afflicting the Continent, added to the stimulus and aid given to it by the increase of Catholicism ;—Young France, the Jacobin faction of which country had

arrogated to itself a mission of propagandism and bloodshed, and had raised a supposed instrument well adapted, as they imagined, to provoke a contest between existing established institutions and unbridled licence ;—all these elements, under their various denominations, have ceased to alarm, and the causes of an overcharged susceptibility and expression of public feeling arise chiefly from want and the immediate pressure and contact of great riches and great poverty in juxtaposition. Property has taken the alarm, and combined its measures too well, to fear danger from the over-excitement of the public mind, in its wild and blind attempts at relief from distress, or of snatching the reins of power from the hands of those by whom it is at present exercised.

Let us add the fact that England and Russia are the only countries that really represent the two principles which are opposed to each other ; and their consequences, which Canning dimly foresaw, as also Napoleon, viz. “ a war of principles ;” the latter little imagining that his influence had ceased by his own contempt of that power which had elevated him, and his omitting to carry out the provisions of the trust, committed to his charge, of establishing constitutional and representative freedom at home and *tempering despotism abroad*, forgetting that he had taken away from France the right to that glorious mission by his own selfish and personal views,—by crushing liberty at home : by marrying, allying and associating himself

with the antagonist principle abroad, he deprived France of that place amongst the nations,—he deprived her of the means of asserting her right to mediate between the contending elements of society; by making her, in his person, false to her own principles, he reduced her to that state which obliged her to receive monarchy from conquest; he trampled on liberty, leaving his country infected with the sole and predominant passion of his own breast, military ambition and conquest; planting in her bosom the serpent democracy, who, coiling round and watching his moment, darts from his hiding-place with timely calculation,—banishing, with his ominous hiss, tranquillity and security from the institutions of the country, with strength as yet only to alarm or wound, until, gaining sufficient force, he may strike the fatal blow at the head of the last prop of society and social order. He left France a conquered country. He showed, in all its nakedness, the power which made her great. That power did not exist in her social institutions, a proof of which was the little opposition the progress of foreign armies met with from the people in their triumphant march through her country to the gates of her capital, and its eventual possession with so little interruption on the part of the population. What made France formidable to Europe and feared at home was numbered: every victory, every collision diminished her force; she had no rallying point but the glory of the battle-field. The people looked on with indifference at the gilded but de-

voted and noble monster, expiring under repeated throes. No shouts of Thermopylæ were heard in the capital of the modern Cæsar, but alas! a fallen one!! A Leonidas could not be found on a soil so prolific of Catilines. Her strength was in her imperial army, and with her imperial army France fell;—and her oscillations and vacillations in European society will be regulated by her population feeding the military power.

The war which brought Russia into the field with such success, and which recoiled on the ambitious and profligate power that provoked it, forced her on European notice. Whatever effect the name of the country and the individual who governed might have produced,—however he might have paralyzed resistance by his rapid and decisive victories,—yet those victories were obliterated and revenged by the sacrifices made by a great country, whose territory had been wantonly invaded. That power came forward with all her means to assist in the independence of Germany and in rescuing her from the most selfish military dominion that had ever existed within the range of history. The name of Napoleon passed away, and the natural consequence was, that the power which conquered him and destroyed his prestige by relieving them from foreign invasion had every claim to the gratitude and respect of the oppressed. That only which is visible is understood and appreciated by mankind.

The war of 1813 and 1814 was of the highest

importance. It was a great moral cause, and it had great moral effects ; and Russia came in for her full share, and more than her full share, in bringing about that comprehensive event. The resistance shown by her people to the Gallic invader, and the presence of her victorious legions, animated and roused the long suppressed but indignant spirit of Germany,—those legions, whom the elements had spared while they overwhelmed their formidable enemy, on whose head the blast of the deadliest hurricane had fallen, chilling the fountain of life—when the snows were a bed of repose to the defenders of their country, but the winding-sheet of death to the devoted victims of an unhallowed ambition. The flames of Moscow, lit up by indignant liberty,—the lurid glare of which had tinged the horizon of Russia's empire,—was seen in far distant lands, brightening up hope, cheering incipient despair, and dispelling the black cloud which had long overhung Europe, and its awful and ominous and extensive blaze made more apparent the blackness of death which followed. What the fire had spared, the three sister elements, earth, air, and water, combined their fatal powers to accomplish, and left a remnant only to tell of the wreck and glory of the greatest army of modern times, and to mock and scoff at mortal ambition.

The strength of a king is not in a “mighty host.” History has borne testimony to this awful truth, so much disregarded by men. With 1,200,000



men, and 1,200 pieces of cannon, an hitherto invincible leader, and an army that had crushed and annihilated all resistance, a well-digested project was baffled and failed. The same leader, with 30,000 men and 25 pieces of cannon, but with more moderate pretensions, conquered and broke the force of the greatest of the continental monarchies, under circumstances apparently more difficult and which promised less chances of success. The angel of death who entered the tents of Senacharib, and smote his blaspheming and presumptuous hosts, was a fact in point of immediate effect more terrible, but not a more striking illustration of the punishment attending infidelity and human presumption.

The geographically favoured position of Russia, her obedient barbarism, roused to the highest pitch of national and patriotic enthusiasm,—revenge and their country's liberty echoed from province to province, from church to church, and village to village;—priests, nobles, and serfs, vying in self-denial and sacrifice in the great cause of national independence; contrasting favourably with the circumstances and situation of Austria, which is too open to enable her to act as an independent power, and her empire is composed of too many discordant elements to form an indivisible nationality, from which a great and intense national feeling might spring. She cannot command the choice of remaining neutral. The jealousies of France, in regard to Italy, render any cordial feeling impossible in

that quarter ; and should she separate herself from Russia, she has nothing to fall on for protection and aid. The two powers of Russia and France she cannot defy. Even an alliance, offensive and defensive, with England, would not effectually aid her. England might cause a powerful diversion, but she could never save her from invasion, or prevent the devastations and success of two powerful empires pouring in their armies. Austria's policy is peace : from war she has every thing to lose and nothing to gain. The sole end and aim of all her policy and action must be to smooth down and reconcile the jarring and conflicting elements of European society ; and where collision is inevitable, to ally herself with the strongest, for the purpose of throwing her power into the balance, and putting a speedier end to the quarrel which might arise amongst the nations of Europe. From the above chain of reasoning it must be evident that the quarter to which she would address herself, and the side to which she must turn, would be that power whose professions and system of government are most in accordance with her own. She must then, however fatal the alternative, incline to the Czar, making his power accessory to her own political existence, and direct her whole policy to render herself in his eyes as respectable as possible.

From the Congress of Vienna we may trace the cause of Austrian weakness. She was not supported as she might have been by England, whose interests were as much neglected as her own. The

Austrian territory ought to have been more rounded and more extended in Germany on one side, and into the Turkish provinces on the other, giving her Ratisbon in Bavaria and Belgrad in Turkey. Prussia was strengthened, and her interests most carefully regarded, having been taken under the peculiar ægis and protection of Russia. Her acquisitions in Germany were greater than what they should have been, and accident only prevented Saxony falling to her share. The empire of Germany, or the influence of a great power exercised by Austria over the minor states of the confederation, passed at once into her hands, and was by her transferred to Russia. Without the latter, Prussia could not exist, Single handed she could not stand a war with France, and, like Austria, she must incline for support to a stronger power.

From this it is easy to see the vast influence which Russia must exercise on the destiny of the world; two powers only being in a state to resist her pretensions and encroachments, and these two powers are England and France. But these countries are separated by feelings of rivalry and jealousy, and attached to each other by no one connecting principle or interest, however anxious England has shown herself to enter into such treaties of commerce as might cement their friendship and obliterate the recollection of ancient feuds and jealousies. The good sense of the more sober part of her people, aided by the government of France, has not been able to bring about a union in the

interests of liberty and constitutional freedom. The great Revolution which called up all Europe to oppose her, has left its traces behind ; and all the evils which follow in the train of anarchy and successful invasion of other countries, remains too deeply rooted in the soil, to admit of any hopes of eradicating them ; and France would to-morrow side with the power most opposed to the principles which she pretends to advocate, if it held out to her a fair hope of leading her on to conquest and aggression. In reference to the minor states of Germany, they exercise, alas ! too contemptible an influence in the general policy of the world to be attended to ; the all-absorbing influence of the Zollverein is choking them. Belgium must go with France,—Hanover, Bavaria, &c., with Prussia or Austria ; and yet all that Germany can do, and might attempt, would be to purchase peace and tranquillity by maintaining a neutral position as a mass, leaving England, Russia and France to contend for supremacy on other shores,—which event, had France acted instead of talking, would have taken place in the late treaty of 1840 ; but, as Burke observes, “ Individuals may benefit by experience, but governments never.” France is too rash, too headstrong, and too presumptuous for sober calculation. The menacing and mercurial population, and the distress of the various classes which form her community, will render action necessary at no very distant day, and bring the same powers into the field, with the hope of obtaining more perma-

nent results. Do not let people encourage the false idea, that because the finances of a state are in disorder, that war becomes less probable, and society more secure in being able to maintain its tranquillity. It is that very distress in France, which, deranging the more steady part of society, will force her to another field of action, to avert the evils from her own soil. Republican power could not even pay her armies. Sixteen napoleons were sent over to Massena when in Geneva to pay those about him,—and, as the Latin phrase says, *ex uno disce omnes*. War will only be dreaded and feared, in proportion to the well doing and happiness of the social state.

Prussia alone could not sustain a war with France, and therefore her assuming to herself the power of dictation to Germany, is a position she cannot maintain by right or force. Austria more naturally is the protector of Germany, and that view ought to have guided this self-styled Holy Alliance in regulating the destinies of Europe. A more impious blasphemy can scarce be conceived than is conveyed in these words. It was a lie everywhere, view it in whatever light we may. The different parties were false to each other in act and thought, cutting up and parcelling out states with a view to support future aggression. They agreed marvellously well on one point, viz., that of imposing chains on freedom, and checking reform in their several states. The first blast of popular

clamour shook and destroyed one of their great combinations ; the Belgian provinces gave way at the first attack, and the faith of treaties, such as those promulgated at the far-famed Congress of Vienna, became a mere by-word, to be broken at the convenience of the parties, on a favourable and fitting opportunity. Poland, Belgium, Cracow, —all attest upon what false and hollow grounds the legislation of the political commonwealth of Europe was built. And coming events will show in still stronger light the paper fabric of these pseudo-infallible politicians. England was misrepresented, both as to her commercial and political interests. Her great moral position was never asserted, as it ought to have been ; nor her services acknowledged in the great cause of liberty and political salvation. Being false to herself,—she became necessarily so to others. She compromised both herself and Austria, and allowed influences to be brought into the field, and to gain an importance and establish a preponderance, injurious to the great cause of civilized liberty, involved as that is in the maintenance of the position of Great Britain in the scale of nations. Why was Turkey strengthened at the expense alone of Austria ? Why was Prussia made the arbiter of Germany, and the natural hereditary influence of Austria transferred to a jealous neighbour ? Because Russia and France were represented,—and England's best interests and true position, identified in strengthening Austria, lost sight of or misconceived.



The decline of Austria, and her relative loss of influence in Europe, is evident by reference to history. She maintains her position, and what influence she has, under the denomination of an essentially pacific or peace-loving and preserving power—in opposition to those great military and formidable neighbours, whose mercurial temper and ambitious views keep up a perpetual agitation and feeling of insecurity in the social body, and whose characteristics are restlessness, a love of war and military enterprise. She originates nothing: greatness with her is merely negative—it is not a positive or indigenous quality. Self-preservation is most essentially her guiding policy. She is weak, and, like all weak bodies, timorous and fearful. Her soil produces nothing great. All her statesmen and generals are of foreign growth. Her aristocracy, with a nice sense of honour, and proud of their position, a defective education render unfit for government; chivalric, enthusiastic, but idle, depressed, confined in action, and consequently slavish in their ideas; her trade not progressing as it might and ought, and public confidence shaken and threatened by the blast of every political breeze;—taxation, as in England and Belgium, carried almost to a grinding extent, and lotteries, the source of all that is demoralizing, encouraged and fostered;—loan after loan raised to pay the interest of former ones;—her public credit not what it deserves to be from her unbounded resources. She has strength enough in her executive

to make herself respected, under ordinary and existing circumstances, but under an unusual and extraordinary state of things, such as that which must arise out of a war in Europe, her ultimate fall is as sure as that of Turkey ; or if she is enabled to withstand the shock, it can only be by a base subjection, and a sacrifice of national independence to some protecting power.

The Austrian eagle droops already at the sight of the wane of the crescent. She flaps her wings in painful anxiety and uneasiness, but does not gather herself up for resistance or attack. Her trembling eye, averted from the majestic soar of the more powerful bird of the North, is growing already dim, and premature old age appears to chain down her pinions.

Like a sweep of the whirlwind will Russia, gathering together the nations bordering on her frontiers, bring down her legions impatient for conquest to their destined prey ; and while the East, with prostrated strength, bows the neck to her yoke, the powers who recognise her supremacy will aid her in the work of threatened destruction. And on whose devoted head will the blow fall ? Or for whom will be reserved the glorious prerogative of opposing a barrier to her wild and despotic ambition ?—formidable by her distance and terrible by her unity—one end, one aim, and one object—all the powers of religion and policy enlisted on her side—a brave, uncivilized and superstitious population, the voice of whose Czar is to them the

voice of God !\* Ignorant of and consequently not agitated by any of the questions which keep European society in a state of perpetual ferment and never ceasing movement,—they await his nod to burst forth and explode with all the horrors of a mine upon which a spark has suddenly fallen. That word, opinion, in spite of all the resistance opposed to it, is moulding society to its form. The tree of liberty and knowledge of man's rights has in these latter days assumed an alarming growth. That tree is Russia's bane ; its branches have spread over Europe, and are touching her confines ; she scorns its tempting but dangerous fruits, and barbarism, in its natural simplicity, defies and mocks at intellectual innovation. The daring progress of knowledge is pressing her on to renewed exertions ; her vigilance never ceases ; her eye remains unerringly fixed on those nations wherein she riots in unbounded licence. That dreaded and uncompromising foe of the Russian power, the spirit of the movement, calculating her own irresistible direction, prepares her measures in silence, to meet her in the field, and annihilate her vaunted unity ;

\* “ Behold how industriously the Muscovite government seeks to emerge from despotism ! Is it in abolishing the patriarchate and the active militia of the Strelitzes ? in being the absolute master of the troops,—of the revenue,—and of the Church, of which the functionaries are paid from the public treasury alone ? or is it proved by framing laws to make *that power as sacred as it is mighty* ? *It is melancholy that, in so many maxims the contrary of what is asserted should be almost always the truth.* ” — *Voltaire, Esprit des Lois.*

and the lightning flashes of that fatal and inevitable war, called the contest of opinion, are ever darting their forked gleams through the misty atmosphere of futurity,—till, bursting out with all the fury of a restrained volcanic irruption, it pours down on society its desolating lava, involving all in one common mass of destruction.

On civilization—on the Western and Eastern hemispheres will the torrent break, and despotism make her last, and death struggle, against the overpowering beams of the enlightened doctrine of man's rights of freedom of conscience and liberty of speech and thought.

Russia and Great Britain approach each other nearer every year, and every day. Their influences in Central Asia are already in silent and active operation and secret conflict. England has been already compelled to advance the boundaries of her Indian empire, and take precautionary measures of outward defence, at a great sacrifice of men and treasure, and that rendered necessary by the intrigues of her rival; and very little more separates them from the field where they must measure themselves in open combat. No power knows or appreciates better the strength of her rival than does Russia, and her measures for her destruction are characterised by the most cautious attention to that end. It is of the last importance to her to go hand in hand with England, until she has prepared the way by negotiation, and, by cutting her off from every ally, secured to herself

the joint co-operation of such maritime power as the Continent possesses, which, united to that of America, will enable her to come with more equal, if not apparently overpowering chances, into the field.

An expedition to India, however practicable (and we believe Arrian's description of that of Alexander has been ascertained by the researches of later travellers to be correct in all its details), would never be for one moment entertained by Russia under the present state of affairs. Constantinople will be the base of her operations, from whence she will set out with an army, and fulminate her commands for eastern and western conquest, taking possession of that capital in the first instance probably, by making out a *casus interventionis* and unopposed by any one continental power. As protector of the Sultan will she enter the capital of the doomed man and his empire, and, in common with her own, unfurling the standard of the Ottoman, and rallying round her eagles the countless worshippers of the prophet—" *Persia, Lybia, and Ethiopia with her*"—excite into action the wild desperation of Eastern fanaticism, and, in union with her own powerful and disciplined legions, animated by a like spirit, pour down with irresistible fury on the dominion of the "leopard," pointing her out as the common enemy of both. The flame of the expiring embers of the religion of the Prophet may blaze up for a moment with a dying energy, but its brightness will only accelerate and

render more intense the darkness of its utter extinction. The contest will be as terrible as the stake on both sides will be great.

England and Russia must inevitably come into collision. They are momentarily in the eyes of Europe the opponents of what is termed "the revolutionary principle," as contended for by France in 1792, but betrayed by her afterwards, and still supposed to have its representative in that country. But they are really the ostensible champions of the two principles which in fact exist. The one in England, which France endeavoured in vain to imitate, and could not follow. The other, of the continental governments, whose essence is despotism, represented by Russia. These two principles have long cherished a deadly and mortal hatred; there can be no compromise between them. England for civil and religious liberty,—Russia for despotism and conquest. The Russian wave is rolling over Europe, gaining fresh force at every swell of the surge, until the very rocks of Albion may tremble with the shock. Voltaire, in speaking of the Danube, said, "*Ce beau fleuve tantôt Protestant, tantôt Catholique, finit par être infidèle.*" Had he lived in these days, he might have added, "*finira par être Russe.*"

A conflict arising out of the clash of those jarring and irreconcilable interests and opinions will rage from one end of the world to the other, and shake society to its foundation; and whether the sound of the trumpet of defiance be borne down on the



blasts of Siberia, or steal along on the overpowering and deadly sirocco, or be "carried up on the whirlwinds of the south," its echo will only die away on the Eastern hemisphere. And the torch of war, lighted on the banks of the Hudson, the Rhine, the Vistula, or the Danube, will only be extinguished in the waters of the Euphrates.

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NOTE.—Whilst in the press a startling fact, and a new phase in European policy, have been announced. The Russian government, it appears, has offered a loan to France of the most seasonable and unexpected nature. After the expression of feelings of the most hostile tendency elicited at the annual opening of the Chambers, their sympathy recorded in favour of fallen Poland, and the denunciation of the Cracow violation of treaty, such an event appears "strange—passing strange." We are by no means surprised at any act of generosity or chivalry on the part of the Czar; in his personal character he is great and noble, capable of corresponding acts, and without any alloy of meanness or duplicity in his nature. In this instance, whether it is a stroke of the highest policy,—or an isolated and generous burst of feeling on the part of the highminded and pacific Czar of all the Russias,—or a speculation of the king of the Jews,—we are incompetent to decide. There are strong presumptions in favour of a deep policy:—First, Prussia has given umbrage to Russia by her constitution. An alliance between Russia and France would determine the fate of that country. No alliance with England could save her; and we can assure the "Times" that it is deeply in error in supposing that she could. Secondly, Russia has never evinced feelings of hos-

tility to the French nation. However she hates and despises the self-constituted monarchy of the Barricades, she comes to her aid in her agony and distress, which will not be disregarded at a future moment when a fitting occasion occurs. The Czar has even consulted her national prejudices, and *amour propre*, by invariably refusing to ally his family to the fallen and rejected Bourbons; but he, the great champion of "*power that is*," has nevertheless, with a deep calculation, allied himself most intimately to revolution, in the person of the progeny, and to a man of revolutionary celebrity, whose popularity was formidable even to Napoleon, and who was universally adored by the French people—Eugene Beauharnais. Is there no danger to be apprehended to the throne of the old fox of the Barricades from the contact? Thirdly, the moment critically chosen for this is at a time when an extreme irascibility embitters and kindles again the never-dying jealousy and hatred of France against England. Her supposed views for extension in the Mediterranean, in conjunction with her conduct to Turkey, are at this moment again brought on the tapis, and most actively canvassed,—this last being the very work of Russian policy to dare her to persist in. The argument for slighting the Sultan is as good for the one as the other, and as surely conducive to results in the interest of their mutual ambition. Pozzo di Borgo, as we quoted in a former publication, thus writes:—"There is among these hypotheses *one truth*, which I hope will ever remain unalterable, namely, that *France, into whatever hands she may fall, will never arm herself against Russia.*"

The loan is a beautiful illustration of noble feeling and deep policy in combination. Why should we destroy its prestige, and not let it repose on its self-evident merits? Why should we again repeat, "*Timeo Danaos dona ferentis*?" A daughter of the Czar of Russia on the throne of France! The Spanish marriages may eventually even result in that. Eventualities more extraordinary than the one just surmised have

even occurred in these dull days, and the dream of empire, or of dividing the world under two sceptres, was discussed by the two great military powers of Europe in Napoleon's day. France is not less military or ambitious than she was ; nor is Russia—or more pacific, or less aspiring. Statesmen are wanted who can appreciate such powers and combinations. We sought in vain for them in the late discussions in the constituent assemblies of France and England. Except Thiers' paradoxes and Jesuitical recommendation of the English alliance, all was common-place, vapid, hollow and superficial.



#### ERRATA.

P. 5, line 10, *for* "an El Dorado," *read* "an illegitimate El Dorado."

P. 5, line 12, *for* "misrule" *read* "morale."

P. 75, line 30, *for* "Count Sleady" *read* "Count Ready."

P. 118, line 20; and p. 122, line 3, *for* "Austria and Russia" *read*  
"Austria and Prussia."







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